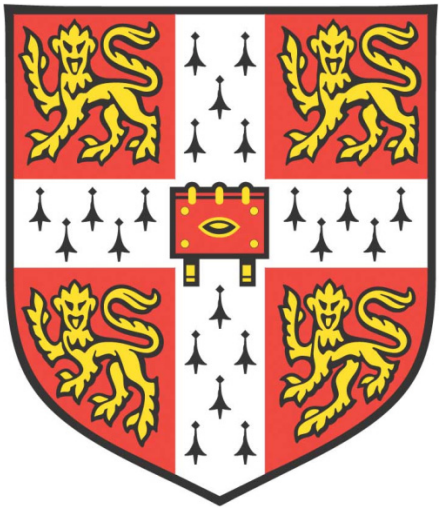
A POST-COLONIAL VIEW OF THRACE

THRACIAN–GREEK INTERACTIONS FROM THE EARLY IRON AGE TO THE EARLY HELLENISTIC PERIOD



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DECLARATION

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing, which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text. It has not been previously submitted, in part or whole, to any university of institution for any degree, diploma, or other qualification.

In accordance with the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology guidelines, this thesis is does not exceed 80,000 words.

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SUMMARY

The way we see relations between 'Greeks' and 'Barbarians' in the 1st millennium BC Mediterranean has changed dramatically over the past 20 years. Under the influence of post-colonial theory, the narrative has shifted from colonial conquest to multiple histories of diverse encounters. This thesis examines the case of ancient Thrace: an under-explored region, which offers a unique perspective on Greek-Non-Greek relations. Geography endows Thrace with a long-lived history of interactions with Greece and very different possibilities for connectivity, compared to the Mediterranean. The aim of this thesis is to explore what forms interactions between communities in Thrace and Greece took in different geographical settings, and how they changed over the 1st millennium BC. I trace how indigenous people adopted and used imported objects and technologies in different social contexts in Thrace. This enquiry sheds light on the indigenous perspective, which has been often left off the pages of history.

The evidence is synthesised and discussed in three core chapters. Chapter II takes a regional-wide and long-term perspective. I review the settlement dynamics, burial and religious practices across Thrace through the Iron Age, and I examine the place of imports in each of these spheres. Chapters III and IV focus on two contact-zone cities: Apollonia on the Black Sea, and Adzhiiska Vodenitsa on River Hebros, near modern Vetren. At Apollonia – a classic example of a coastal Greek colony, we can follow how a community of diverse origins constructed a unified community identity as a Pontic Ionian city. Apollonia's trade and diplomatic relations with neighbouring communities started from its establishment and unfolded prosperously. Vetren is also considered a colony – a Thasian *emporion* – but after re-assessing the epigraphic, historical, and archaeological evidence, I argue that this identification is unconvincing. The site is better understood as a market town with a mixed population, under Thracian authority. Vetren therefore invites us to re-think the rise of indigenous urbanism, and particularly the role of imports in the constitution of early towns and urban economies.

The two case studies and the regional review recuperate some of the diverse interactions between Thrace and Greece, including technological transfer, trade, migration, and elite contacts, among others. They offer a perspective on how aspects of Thracian society changed through cultural contact, on indigenous terms: by embracing and adapting some elements (coinage, wheel-made pottery), and showing limited interest in others (e.g. writing). In the processes of cultural contact and social change, people manipulated the boundaries of identity and alterity in more complex and historically meaningful ways than the binary classification of Greek and Thracian allows: by creating idiosyncratic local identities such as the Pontic Ionians at Apollonia; or by living an urban lifestyle, which had more in common with urban centres of the Aegean, than other Thracian settlements, as at Vetren.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

IGBulg I²	Mihailov, G. (ed.) 1970. *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae*. Vol. 1. *Inscriptiones orae Ponti Euxini*. 2nd edition. Sofia: Academiae Litterarum Bulgaricae.
IGBulg III.1	Mihailov, G. (ed.) 1961. *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae*. Vol. 3.1. *Inscriptiones inter Haemum et Rhodopem repertae. Fasciculus prior: Territorium Philippopolis*. Sofia: Academiae Litterarum Bulgaricae.
IGBulg V	Mihailov, G. (ed.) 1997. *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae*. Vol. 5. *Inscriptiones novae, addenda et corrigenda*. Sofia: Academiae Litterarum Bulgaricae.
IScM I	Pippidi, Dionisie M., 1983 *Inscriptiones Daciae et Scythiae Minoris antiquae. Series altera: Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae*. Vol. 1. *Inscriptiones Histriae et vicinia*. Bucharest: Editura encyclopedică.
LGPN	Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Online database. <http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/>
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* Online edition. Brill Online, 2015. <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum>

All civilized nations, in all that concerns the activity of the intellect, are colonies of Hellas.

(Symonds 1880, 401)

The Thracians were an intractable people, who did not take kindly to Hellenism, and relations between the Greek cities and the neighbouring tribes had usually been hostile. … The Greek colonies were mere islets of civilization in a sea of barbarism … The natives differed greatly in their degree of culture … but none were sufficiently advanced to assimilate Greek culture.

(Jones 1940, 27)

Natives, people confined to and by the places to which they belong, groups unsullied by contact with a larger world, have probably never existed.

(Appadurai 1988, 39)

Chapter I. INTRODUCTION

Figure 1.1. Major rivers and mountains in the east Balkans

1. Background, aims, and questions

The way we see relations between 'Greeks' and 'Others' has shifted dramatically over the past 20 years, from a narrative about colonialism and civilizing conquest towards many histories of divergent cultural encounters. The new narrative sees 'Greek colonies' as diverse settlements with histories shaped by local circumstances and individual agencies. The new framework allows for a more 'human' picture of the past: there is space for cooperation, creativity, competition, alongside more adversarial encounters between

'Greeks' and indigenous communities. This important re-appraisal of Greek colonisation has been inspired by post-colonial theory.

Post-colonial archaeology submits that social phenomena are best understood through the eyes of the community studied and aims to understand the past better by considering indigenous priorities and systems of meaning. Post-colonial archaeology seeks to redress the balance between the written sources, which emphasise the role of the 'Greeks', and highlighting the agency of the 'subaltern' through alternative discourses such as material culture.

These aims are achieved by investigating the motivations of people on both sides of the encounter, tracing how imports are grafted onto existing exchange networks (e.g. Dietler 2005), taking a *longue durée* perspective and outlining historical trends before the encounter (Owen 2000b, 2009). These strategies highlight the agency of indigenous societies and the dynamism of their existing historical trajectory. As a result, the 'colonial' encounter unravels in a historically deep and populated environment, rather than a colonial *terra incognita.*

It is now widely acknowledged that Greek-speaking people had diverse and dynamic identities beneath the umbrella of shared Hellenicity (Hall 1997, 2002; Dougherty & Kurke 2003). This line of research undermines the binary divisions between 'Greeks' and 'Others'. Scholars have looked at multiple paths of 'influence', investigating the significance of multiple identities within a perceived monolithic group (e.g. along gender, class, faction, regional lines), identifying hybrid material culture, investigating its genealogy and ascribed meaning in its use context. Looking at local contexts in a comparative (Mediterranean and ethnographic) perspective has contributed to understanding 'Greek colonisation' as a series of diverse encounters and Greek cities overseas as widely different and often cosmopolitan urban centres. Ultimately this has served to re-contextualise the narrative of 'colonisation' and shift the focus of study from a story about 'civilising influence' to a story about multi-faceted entanglement.

These developments invite a revision of the 'Greek colonisation' narrative in ancient Thrace, and a careful consideration of the nature and impact of the encounter. So far ancient Thrace and Bulgarian archaeology have mostly remained marginal to the post-colonial debate – except in the work of Petya Ilieva (2007, 2011) and Sara Owen (2000b, 2003, 2009). With an explicitly post-colonial approach, these authors have re-written the

history of early Thracian-Greek interactions in the north Aegean. Although their work has evident wider implications, it has not yet been translated in an overarching paradigm shift. Most Bulgarian scholars recognise that the data from their excavations do not accommodate the old narrative of Thracian-Greek relations (e.g. Георгиева & Ников 2010), but what is still ostensibly missing in Thracian archaeology is a synthesis of these new data and a critical interpretation of what they tell us about cultural contact and social change. The last such synthesis appeared almost 20 years ago (Archibald 1998). Since then archaeological fieldwork has significantly increased our knowledge of Iron Age Thrace, yet most discoveries have only appeared in short reports in Bulgarian.

The new synthesis, attempted in this thesis, needs to (i) review the diverse forms that 'interactions' between Thrace and Greece can take; (ii) adopt a conceptual apparatus for understanding identity, difference, social change, and cultural contact through material culture; (iii) set up a methodological framework for integrating and interpreting a vast range of evidence; (iv) review the place of Thrace in a wider context.

I aim to synthesise some of the key evidence for interactions between Thrace and the Aegean, and compare diverse trajectories of contact between the 8th and 4th century.[1] The broad issue I wish to understand is how strangers from different regions come together, change their lifeways, and become part of a world with new lines of identity and difference. I propose to explore this issue through three guiding questions:

- What was the nature of interactions between communities in Thrace and Greece, and how did it change through the Iron Age?
- How did imported material culture fit in the social fabric of Iron Age Thrace? More specifically, how and why were imported objects and technologies used in different contexts?
- Finally, what was the role of imported objects and technologies in wider changes in Thracian societies between the Early Iron Age and the early Hellenistic period?

These issues entail a series of operational questions: Who was interacting? What were the motivations of different groups and individuals? When did interactions start? How did

[1] All centuries are BC unless otherwise specified.

their intensity and directionality change over time? What objects and technologies were imported? What was exported? How can we characterise changes in Thracian society, considering settlement patterns, burials, and cult sites at a regional level; practices of production, consumption, and exchange?

Addressing these questions entails several scales of analysis. The first, developed in this chapter, involves a broad theoretical project on conceptualising how individuals play a part in sweeping historical processes of cultural contact and social change. The second analytical level is a synthesis of regional patterns in the long term (Chapter II). The third scale follows Thracian-Greek interactions in two case-studies of contact-zone towns and their surroundings (Chapters III–IV). Micro-scale examples of well-documented individual contexts, objects, or discrete phenomena appear throughout the thesis to the level that the data afford. The remainder of this chapter discusses the theoretical and methodological tools for working through the research questions and aims with the available data from Iron Age Thrace.

Some of these questions are unlikely to find secure answers, because of the numerous and various gaps in the evidence. Posing the questions however helps to outline the blank spots, dead ends, and promising paths for further research. On the one hand, I am aware that by setting such a broad geographical, chronological, and thematic scope for a doctoral thesis, I am running the risk of misinterpreting details, making generalisations, and inevitably omitting some evidence. I use a wide range of specialist literature and publications of variable accuracy. Most ostensibly, my coverage of Greek and Turkish Thrace is not as intensive as that of Bulgaria – little material has been excavated and published from European Turkey, and collating all northern Greek sites would be a separate thesis.

Nevertheless, I still believe these risks are justified and a synthetic archaeological study of Thracian-Greek relations is a worthwhile and long overdue endeavour. For Thracian archaeology, a generalist study has the potential to reflect on the state of the discipline, re-assess inherited models and point to fruitful directions for future work. In Classical studies, two recent treatments of ‘Greek-Barbarian’ relations show that there is growing interest in the topic (Sears 2013; Vlassopoulos 2013), while the lack of recent archaeological synthesis in English is a glaring gap in the literature. This lacuna leads scholars to focus on the textual sources, which ultimately tell only half the story.

2. Models of interaction: Mediterranean perspectives

This section examines how similar research questions have been addressed elsewhere by reviewing the literature on Greek-non-Greek relations in the 1st millennium BC Mediterranean. I have grouped recurrent ideas from the literature in four models of interaction: Hellenisation, Violence and isolation, Elite adoption of foreign culture, and Mixing models. These models are not cohesive schools of thought and each applies to a particular situation, analytical scale, or class of evidence. This way of reviewing the literature illustrates that different modes of engagement can overlap in a mosaic way over the social landscape, and morph into one another as relationships unfold through time. Although some of these models have been rightfully critiqued and abandoned, it is important to consider them not merely as the proverbial straw men that new arguments will oppose, but because, as we will see in later chapters, old sentiments and visions of the past linger in the imagination and live new life between the lines of theoretically inexplicit writing.

2.1. Hellenisation

Hellenisation is a process of acculturation whereby non-Greeks become (more) Greek. It refers to the spread of 'Greek' material culture, which by implication marks the expansion of 'Greek civilisation' among indigenous communities across the Mediterranean and Middle East. The model posits that non-Hellenic peoples valued and desired Greek objects, and that consuming these objects made them more Grecian.

The idea that 'barbarians' would want to absorb as much 'Greekness' as possible arises from scholarly adulation of the ancient Greeks: an attitude rooted in the Classical tradition and the sentiment of philhellenism, widely spread among scholars, political thinkers, and the broader intellectual community in Western Europe since the Enlightenment, especially in the heyday of European empires (Dietler 2010, 27–43). During this time Western Europe formed a specific relationship to 'the glory that was Greece'; Classical antiquity was constructed as the mythical origin of Western modernity and 'civilisation'. In this context, an emergent Classical archaeology was burdened with a series of values. As European nations assumed their own cultural superiority over colonial subjects around the globe, they projected the cultural superiority of Greeks over non-Greeks in antiquity. This vision of ancient colonisations was formed through a complex web of analogies between

modern colonial experiences and ancient evidence (Owen 2005). For example the concept of 'trade before the flag', originally used for British economic imperialism in India, was borrowed to characterise Archaic Greek settlements in Italy (Owen 2005, 10–11; cf. Blakeway 1932, 1935). French and British authorities saw their imperial projects as echoes of Roman expansion (van Dommelen 1997, 305–8).

Although Hellenisation has dominated the vision of Greek-indigenous interactions for a long time, it has never been defined especially well (Py 1968; Urquhart 2010, 57; Vranić 2014, 33). Scholars who adhere to this model often come from theoretically inexplicit traditions, and seldom articulate exactly how Hellenisation works: it is assumed it just does, like a natural process predicated on the above-mentioned assumptions.

Yet, Hellenisation can be characterised by several established tropes. The first narrative trope is about teaching and learning; it goes back to the Roman period, exemplified by Justin's comment (17.4):

> From the people of Massalia, therefore, the Gauls learned a more civilized way of life, their former barbarity being laid aside or softened; and by them they were taught to cultivate their lands and to enclose their towns with walls. Then too, they grew accustomed to live according to laws, and not by violence; then they learned to prune the vine and plant the olive.

According to another oft-cited Roman story, Corinthian aristocrat-cum-tradesman Demaratos settled to Etruria in the 7th century, bringing with him potters and painters who taught their crafts to the Etruscans (Pliny 35.152). These stories, related by imperial Roman authors five to six centuries after the events, are tinted with characteristic Roman philhellenism. They are useful not for their veracity, but for understanding Hellenocentrism ancient and modern. Archaeologists have uncritically absorbed Roman philhellenism to conceptualise "the earliest Hellenisation of Latium and Etruria" as a process of Greeks teaching non-Greeks (Blakeway 1935; Ridgway & Ridgway 1994; cf. Torelli 1976). Blakeway insistently characterises Hellenisation as a process of teaching, with reference to ceramic craft and the alphabet. Greeks taught locals and thus made an important "contribution to Etruscan civilisation" (Blakeway 1935, 134): "it is probably they [Greek *metoikoi*] who are largely responsible for … the efflorescence of Graeco-Etruscan art in the seventh century" (Blakeway 1935, 133); "We cannot doubt that a Greek

polis [Cumae] on Italian soil had more to give and to teach than the individual Greek immigrants of the preceding period" (Blakeway 1935, 138). Indigenous Italic peoples are seen as passive students, receiving their "lessons in Hellenism" (Blakeway 1935, 136), achieving at most, "great capacity for the imitation of Greek products" (1935, 133). Dunbabin, a student of Blakeway's, expresses a more extreme view of Sicily: "In material culture the Sikels had little to contribute to a Sicilian civilization" (1948, 176). The latest, fourth, edition of *The Greeks Overseas* reiterates this sentiment: "in the west the Greeks had nothing to learn, much to teach" (Boardman 1999, 190). At the heart of this trope lies an evolutionist framework, in which the Greeks were the pinnacle of civilisation, while other peoples were passive beneficiaries of their civilizing influence.

Another, related trope of Hellenisation, is exploitative trade, epitomised in John Boardman's (1999, 199–200) view:

> [the Etruscans] were a rich but artistically immature and impoverished people, and they became ready and receptive customers for anything exotic that the Euboeans could bring them … They gave the Greeks the metal they wanted in return for what was often hardly more than the bright beads with which merchants are usually supposed to dazzle natives.

In Boardman's vision, Greek objects circulated via trade between unequal partners. Greek merchants delivered goods, in exchange for raw materials from the Etruscans, who were seen as culturally inferior 'barbarians', unconditionally interested in Greek objects. Boardman's statement neatly fits in a world-systems model, which is often evoked to explain Greek-native relations more widely.

If in some cases scholars perceived Hellenisation as a civilizing and elevating process, in other contexts Hellenisation was conceived as the loss of one's original identity, with fatal consequences (Goudriaan 1992, 79):

> the Thrakians of Egypt progressively adopted Greek names, the Greek language and perhaps eventually Greek religious beliefs and practices so that ultimately there was no cultural feature left by which they could (or, for that matter, would) distinguish themselves from the Greeks. At that moment they vanished from history.

Bulgarian authors voiced similar sentiments (Филов 1918, 54), as we will see below (p. 38ff.).

The concept of Hellenisation has different meanings in different timeframes. The Hellenistic period has been singled out as the point of widest extent and deepest penetration of 'Hellenic' culture to other societies. Alexander's empire was credited with bringing "Hellenistic civilization", which allegedly "remained Greek in language, customs and above all, in self-consciousness" (Momigliano 1990, 6–7). Momigliano also perceived the roots of European identity in the Hellenistic: "*homo Europaeus* has remained intellectually conditioned by his Hellenistic ancestors" (Momigliano 1990, 11).

Hellenisation also has different regional historiographies. In Thracian archaeology, the only explicit definition I could find is remarkably vague; again, it equates 'Greek culture' with 'European culture', and conveys tension between indigenous agency and the pull of Hellenism (Fol 1996, 183):

> The network of apoikiai, or colonies … was based on powerful centres of Hellenization. Hellenization was not only an economic and social phenomenon and was certainly not acculturation in the sense of attachment to a stronger cultural group. Hellenization was a combination of these aspects, but it reflected especially the degree of rapprochement to the model of European culture of the period, through its spiritual substance which, once adopted, broadened the intellectual horizon of those whom it touched. … the Thracian and Illyrian area comprised several regions of contact – regions in which different systems of values were learned about, drawn closer to and interpreted.

In material terms, Hellenisation in Thrace usually refers to the adoption of Greek language and script (Nankov 2012, 119–20 fn. 4–5), dress and etiquette among the ruling elite, and the rise of cities like Seuthopolis and Kabyle in the Hellenistic period. Local elites are given some agency in that it is their decision to adopt foreign material culture and practices. It is seldom questioned why local elites might do that, because Greek objects are assumed to be desired and Greek customs are assumed to be superior. The local historiography of Thracian-Greek relations clearly hides many intricacies, which will be considered separately (p. 38ff. below and case-study historiographies).

These examples reveal that Hellenisation is essentially a diffusionist model of acculturation, resting on an evolutionary and culture-historical framework. It regards culture as a list of attributes which occur together in time and space: 'Greek' culture is made up of 'Greek' object types, technologies, practices, and language. The spread of these attributes to other areas is equated to 'influence', of an 'advanced' culture over others.

A number of problems exist with the concept of Hellenisation, in addition to its vagueness, which scholars have been aware of since the early 1980s (Morel 1983). The assumption of Greek cultural superiority and historical agency over other societies results from projecting modern values into the past, and clouds our understanding of history. At a methodological level, it is unsustainable to interpret the distribution of Greek objects and technologies as evidence of indigenous peoples 'becoming' Greek. Archaeologists have long critiqued the culture historical paradigm of cultures diffusing between regions like the flow of disembodied substances. Recent consensus holds that the idea of uniform, stable 'Greek culture' is misleading (Dougherty & Kurke 2003), the issue of Greek ethnicity is highly complex (Hall 1997), and the definition and implications of Hellenic identity changed over time (Hall 2002).

The concept of Hellenisation seems too vague and loaded to retain much analytical value. Hellenisation could be used as shorthand for people partly adopting Greek material culture and customs (e.g. Vranić 2014), particularly, the undeniable spread of material forms and practices from the Aegean across the Macedonian empire. However, major issues remain: Hellenisation relies on a flawed theoretical framework that equates 'Greek' objects with 'Greek' culture. It carries a lot of Hellenocentric baggage, which distorts our understanding of how other societies engaged with Greek culture. These assumptions continue to fill any vacuum, and underpin any vague talk of 'influence', 'contact' and 'trade'. It seems therefore wise to avoid the shorthand of Hellenisation, and instead investigate what non-Greek societies took from the Greeks, how, and why.

2.2. Conflict, conquest, and isolation

Hellenisation was not a universally accepted framework. The implication of cultural mixing was an unpopular idea in the Levant, where the boundaries of Orient/Occident were conceptually policed by Classical scholarship and the debate centred around the presence or absence of Greek colonies (Waldbaum 1997).

In other cases narratives of Greek-non-Greek encounters are often dominated by violence and conflict. Thucydides (4.3) reports that in Syracuse on Sicily the indigenous Sikels were displaced by incoming Greeks. The story aligns with observations on the early excavations that Greek-style structures replace indigenous ones, although recent evidence casts doubts on this view (Shepherd 1999, 277). Massalia, in Mediterranean France, repeatedly faced conflict with surrounding indigenous groups (Dietler 2010, 157–82).

Violence also dominates the vision of Thracian-Greek encounters. Text-based perspectives have often absorbed and reproduced Classical bias, arguing that "Greek colonies were mere islets of civilization in a sea of barbarism" and envisaging the Thracians as "an intractable people, who did not take kindly to Hellenism, and relations between the Greek cities and the neighbouring tribes had usually been hostile" (Jones 1940, 27). Indeed, written sources speak of confrontation between Greek settlers and indigenous groups at Thasos (Archilochos) and Abdera (Herodotos 1.168; Pindar *Paean* 2). A much more complex picture emerges after these historical traditions are read in context, accounting for their poetics and politics, and juxtaposed to archaeological evidence (Τριαντάφυλλος 1990, 314; Owen 2000b, 2009; Ilieva 2007; Baralis 2009, 112–5). Poetic references to violent events have been exaggerated by biased reconstruction and reading of the sources (Owen 2003). Alliance degenerated to episodes of conflict and vice versa; conflict was highly contingent and when violence erupted, it did not on ethnic, but on economic grounds (Ilieva 2011). Abdera for instance, with its silver mines, was an attractive target for Thracian, Macedonian, Seleukid, and Roman armies. The mythologised story of Abdera's difficult beginnings was a tool of identity politics: the narrative emphasised the threat of Thracian enemies, and fostered Abdera's ties with its mother-city and major economic partner, Teos (Dougherty 1994, 212). In a similar vein, later sources report that Philip II rescued Krenides from Thracian attacks (Stephanos of Byzantium s.v. Φιλιπποι). As 'saviour' of the city, Philip laid hands on Krenides' gold mines, which brought up to 1000 talents per year (Diodoros 16.8.6–7; Strabo 7, fr. 34).

Conflict was probably part of some Greek-non-Greek encounters, but in most cases it did not unfold according to the modern vision of imperial conquest or 'clash of civilisations'. Context is crucial to interpreting historical testimonies of violence, and a more nuanced reading of the evidence allows us to move beyond the stereotype of the violent barbarians, in order to understand individual histories of contact.

2.3. Core-periphery trade relations

Another common model of Greek-non-Greek relations posits that indigenous elites adopt foreign material culture and practices first, while the old ways persist among non-elites and in remote regions. Different approaches disagree on how elites acquire foreign material culture, why, and with what consequences.

Much of the debate has revolved around Mediterranean imports in central Europe (the Hallstatt – La Tène area). Southern objects and technologies appear in major Hallstatt settlements and elite burials from the 7th century onwards. Frankenstein and Rowlands (1978) explained this pattern as "prestige-goods exchange". They compared late Hallstatt communities in south-west Germany and West African kingdoms at the time of colonial contact with Europe, and argued that Hallstatt elites had access to Mediterranean trade networks through which they obtained prestige goods. Controlling and redistributing exotic imports among peer elites was instrumental to their maintenance of political power.

In a similar vein, Peter Wells (1980b), in his early career, argued for direct exchange between Hallstatt chiefdoms in west central Europe and Greek apoikiai on the Mediterranean coast. He saw this relationship as trade between autonomous communities. Massalian traders were interested in raw materials from the deep European hinterland, and in return Hallstatt elites were interested in Mediterranean exotica such as ornate jewellery, fine Attic pottery, coral, ivory, and wine. The resulting commercial relationship led to profound transformations in Hallstatt society: increasing social stratification, settlement centralisation, a new scale and mode of economic production, and new relationships between different communities. Wells (1980a, 5) states:

> When Greek traders brought their commercial interests to central Europe, in order to respond communities had to reorient their economies to produce surpluses of those materials sought by the Greeks. The initiative to do so had to come from the chief of each community. … [A] chief could establish a series of satellite communities which would co-operate in the economic collection-production system, as long as he could reward their members for their co-operation.

The prestige-goods exchange approach has faced criticism on several grounds. Mediterranean trade could not be the cause of social change, since similar processes of centralisation and stratification developed in areas without Mediterranean imports (Bintliff

1984). Some argued that control over local production of luxury goods was more important than imported prestige items (Gosden 1985). The model presupposes that prestige goods reached central Europe in exchange for bulk raw material and authors even speak of a "trade explosion" in the Hallstatt area (Collis 1984). The volume and intensity of this trade however are very difficult to establish. Timber and organics decay, metal is reused and mining evidence is difficult to date and quantify, because mines stayed in use for a long time. The quantity of Greek imports at Hallstatt sites remains very low: over 150 transport amphorae were excavated at Lyon and 48 – at Bragny-sur-Saone; only Mont Lassois/Vix and Bourges have over 40 Attic pots; Heuneburg has 13, and at other sites the quantity of imported vessels usually remains in single digits (Brun & Chaume 2013, 334). This model overestimates the volume of trade in the Hallstatt period, and correspondingly exaggerates its possible impact on central European communities.[2]

Some scholars interpret the appearance of Greek objects in the Hallstatt area as direct evidence that Greek merchants or craftspeople were present (Wells 1977, 192). The presence of Greek craftspeople and traders in continental Europe is perfectly possible, considering the Vix *krater* inscriptions, but their role as sole agents of trade, technological, and historical change is often assumed – not proven – and exaggerated.

Further to the factual criticisms, the prestige-goods approach falls in the same theoretical pitfall as the Hellenisation paradigm: it regards contact with Greek merchants as the main cause of change in Hallstatt society, as the quote above illustrates. This problem arises to some extent because prehistoric archaeologists are part of "the Hellenocentric European intellectual tradition" (Dietler 2005, 15) which inherently divides Europe in the 1st millennium BC into a 'civilized' Mediterranean south and a 'barbarian' continental north. Non-Greek societies have been perceived to have unchanging cultures, a concept inherited from old anthropological models that non-European societies were 'primitive' and 'traditional' until contact with European colonists transformed them (Dietler 2010, 47).

The other aggravating factor which helps to exaggerate the agency of Greek traders is the lack of synthetic studies of strategically important intermediate regions (Dietler 2005, 18).

[2] As we will see later, the same preservation issues affect Thrace, but the quantity of imported pottery is higher and different theoretical concerns apply.

One such region is the Rhone valley, the subject of Dietler's thesis, where a series of intermediate communities exchanged objects, without necessarily the presence of Greek traders. Because intermediate communities have been less familiar, the contrast between the 'civilized' Mediterranean south and the 'barbarian' north has seemed greater. As a result, Hallstatt and Mediterranean communities have been misconceived as two poles in a core-periphery system.

The current consensus recognises that the exchange and distribution networks which brought Mediterranean luxuries to Hallstatt elites were diverse. Objects may have been exchanged down-the-line through many intermediate merchants and communities, as gifts, or via direct trade, though the latter is unlikely at a large scale. Multiple relationships probably existed at the same time and worked in complementary ways. We can recognise some distribution systems by their different archaeological footprints. For example, as Dietler (2005, 18) explains, communities in the lower Rhone valley received relatively large amounts of imported pottery and amphorae, found across a wide range of sites – a pattern which suggests regular large-scale trade with nearby Massalia. By contrast, in the Hallstatt area imports are rare but of higher value by virtue of their material (e.g. bronze vessels) or relative rarity and they tend to be deposited in elite contexts such as rich graves. This suggests sporadic, down-the-line imports or gifts.

2.4. Consumption: fashion and luxuries

Core-periphery models spurred a discussion on trade and turned elite consumption into a fruitful focus for later work on Greek-non-Greek interactions (Arafat & Morgan 1989; Dietler 2005). Consumption is a productive avenue for understanding cultural relations, not least, because the archaeological record provides better data for consumption, than for trade and distribution. The focus on consumption also helps to address *how* and *why* foreign material culture is used in an indigenous society.

Attic pottery overseas – highly durable and recognisable – is a frequent topic for archaeological inquiries into cross-cultural consumption and foreign engagements with Greek material culture (Etruria – de la Genière 1988; Spivey 1991; Osborne 1996, 2001; de la Genière 2006; Lynch 2009; Sicily – Walsh 2013; Walsh & Antonaccio 2014; Bosporan Kingdom – Morgan 2009; Persia – de Vries 1977, Phrygia – de Vries 1997). These studies identify regional preferences for certain shapes and iconographic programmes, and specific market relations tying Attic potters and painters to overseas

consumers. For example, Tyrrhenian amphorae and the Perizoma group vessels were exported mainly to Etruria (Spivey 1991, 139–42; de la Genière 2006); many pots of Sotades painter – to the Achaemenid Empire (de Vries 1977). Contexts of use have also received attention as places where Greek imports were used for local agendas. Societies around the Mediterranean had their own ways of banqueting (see Moorey 1980; Reade 1995 for west Asia; Rathje 1994a, 1994b; Small 1994 for the central Mediterranean) in which Greek imports were inserted. Such borrowings go back into the Bronze Age, including the appropriation of Mycenaean *kylikes* as incense-burners and *kraters* for local communal drinking through a straw in the Levant (Stockhammer 2012a, 17–32; papers in Maran & Stockhammer 2012). Although Attic pottery is frequently endowed with high value by modern scholars, burial finds from Sicily (Lyons 1996) and 6th century Etruria (Hannestad 1989) suggest that banqueting was the prerogative of people from a wide range of social backgrounds and wealth. These findings lead us to question the value of the imports as exclusive 'prestige' items.

Lin Foxhall (1998, 305; 2005, 240) proposes a distinction between exclusive *luxuries* available to a small circle of elites (e.g. precious metal vessels, jewellery) and *delicacies* which a wider circle of people could consume from time to time (e.g. imported wine, some perfumes and adornments, honey, spices, and other foodstuffs). She evokes written sources and the wide distribution of amphorae and perfume jars, as evidence for the significance of these commodities in Archaic exchange networks. This leads her to speak of 'consumer cities' (Foxhall 2005, 240–6). Urban dwellers constructed their identities, asserted their group allegiances, and distinguished themselves from others through consumption. Urban communities demanded items of distinction in order to articulate, perform, and communicate their increasingly complex structure of vertical and horizontal groupings. In the context which Foxhall presents, Greek products are but one group in a wide repertoire of exchanged commodities, alongside Levantine, Egyptian, Central Mediterranean goods, and exotica from more distant lands. Similarly, Etruscan banquets incorporated shapes not only from Greek, but also west Asian inspiration (Rathje 1994a, 96).

The concept of fashion is an important part of Foxhall's argument. Fashion is the widespread consumption of standardised goods with quickly changing styles. The source of stylistic innovation might be invention or import. For example, 5th century Athenians adopted a series of material forms from Achaemenid Persia, including dress fashions, vessel shapes, and accessories (Miller 1997, 150–217, 243–58). Significantly, Athenians

reinterpreted a number of Persian imports for their own purposes. For instance the Persian *kandys* – an equestrian leather cloak was transformed into a luxury linen garment for women (Miller 1997, 165–8). By indigenising imports, Athenians could reconcile their use of foreign goods with the anti-Persian rhetoric of the time. Miller demonstrates that Athenians appropriated Persian objects and practices for the purpose of distinction and status display in a society with increasingly complex structure. The underlying principle, driving cultural receptivity to Persian things was a demand for novel items of distinction – which contact with foreign cultures provided. Over time novel vessels and clothes became increasingly accessible, and lost their ability to mark distinction, thus necessitating the constant reinvention of fashions and the introduction of more foreign elements. This general principle helps to understand a wide range of engagements with foreign material culture and stylistic innovation (Miller 1997, 186 fig. 150).

Practices of distinction can neglect the original meanings of imports and their origin, or capitalise on it – for example, a person gains social capital by serving good French wine *and* by exhibiting connoisseurship about it. Conspicuous consumption can take many forms – in the private sphere or at larger feasts, rituals, etc. where an elite might offer access to delicacies to a wider group of people, thus drawing social capital. In addition to commodities, conspicuous consumption includes labour, and often imported labour – as in the case of slaves at Athenian houses (Miller 1997, 209). We might also evoke the consumption of imports in the Hallstatt area involving the labour of skilled artisans (e.g., in the construction of the Vix cauldron) and the significance that wine acquired in the political economy of indigenous communities in southern Gaul (Dietler 2005).

The main issues with the consumption approach arise from the nature of our data. Imported pot sherds are only the tip of the iceberg, and most of the foodstuffs, drinks, perfumes and textiles circulating around the Mediterranean do not survive archaeologically. Much of Foxhall's reconstruction relies on textual sources – which are scant for many areas of the Mediterranean, such as Thrace. We can only look for traces of these cargoes through their ceramic packaging (amphorae), botanical remains, iconography, and other indirect clues. When and where these commodities circulated via market exchange, and whether they were redistributed centrally by elites (Owen 1998), is up for investigation.

In sum, consumption and fashion open a productive perspective on indigenous engagement with foreign material culture. To understand the indigenous consumption of imports, we

need to study how widely these imports were available, who had access to them, and whether the way they were used conveys knowledge of any specific imported practices or a choice to integrate the imports in local practices. We need to also remember that Greek pots moved within a wider range of commodities.

There are many routes and mechanisms of distribution, and likewise, there can be myriad reasons why elites adopt imports. Exotic objects might make good items of distinction within the local community, they might allow elites to participate in international fashions among fellow elites, or imported objects or technologies might serve other, more mundane purposes. We need to explore potential motivations by studying what kinds of objects and practices were being selected, and in what contexts they were being used. We can infer for example that if a person used imported jewellery or drinking vessels in visible ways, these imports were items of distinction. If they used purpose-specific imports as private belongings, which facilitate a certain lifestyle (e.g. lamps, baby-feeding bottles, cooking pots, a full sympotic service), then we can speak of the adoption of a certain foreign practice with the object.

2.5. Mixing models

Middle Ground

Over the past 20 years the social sciences have seen the proliferation of models, which focus on mixing in the process of cultural encounters. One popular concept is the middle ground, originally defined in Richard White's (2011) study of native American-European encounters around the Great Lakes in the 17th–19th century AD. The middle ground is a cultural and physical space, where different sides in the encounter could form a mutually comprehensible world, where they accommodated each other's cultures and mutually benefit from the exchange. The lack of hegemonic authority, or the inability for either side to establish control, is a crucial characteristic of the middle ground.

Irad Malkin (1998) introduced the concept to Mediterranean scholarship and identified a series of institutions, mythological constructs, and spaces that functioned as middle grounds for Greek-indigenous encounters (cf. Malkin 2002; 2011). Middle ground-type situations often arose in the first stages of colonial encounter, long before territorial conquests changed the power dynamic. For this reason, middle ground has been popular among scholars of ancient Mediterranean colonialism, having appreciated that ancient

Greek overseas settlements cannot be faithfully compared to modern imperial and colonial ventures (van Dommelen 1997; Owen 2005).

Hybridity

The wider conceptual apparatus of post-colonial archaeology includes the notions of creolisation, hybridisation, *métissage*, and *bricolage*, adding to older concepts like syncretism. Each of them draws on metaphors with different linguistic, racial, and colonial baggage. Much ink has been spilled on defining each term and its appropriate uses (cf. Coombes & Brah 2000; Palmié 2006; Stewart 2011; Stockhammer 2012b; van Pelt 2013a). As Charles Stewart (2011) explains, these words will continue to change their meaning as part of a living theoretical vocabulary. I will follow his cue to use 'hybridity' as a general term for mixing.

Hybridity draws on a biological metaphor of two species mixing to produce a third, hybrid organism. Originally, hybridity had negative connotations: hybrid plants and animals are often infertile and therefore inferior; people of mixed race were considered corrupted or social misfits (Stewart 2011, 51). When Homi Bhabha (1994) appropriated and popularised the concept of hybridity in post-colonial studies, he inverted its negative meaning, turning hybridity into a place for resistance, subversion of the dominant culture, and creativity. Hybridity emphasises a transformative process, which affects both colonisers and colonised.

Since Peter van Dommelen (1997, 309) introduced hybridity to Mediterranean archaeology, the concept has been keenly taken up by other scholars (e.g. Antonaccio 2003; papers in Stockhammer 2012b; van Pelt 2013b). Its attraction lies in the connection between hybrid material forms, which are not difficult to recognise, and the underlying cultural processes. Hybridity has usually served to identify hybrid spaces (somewhat similar to the middle ground approach), objects, and assemblages. One eloquent example are the 7th century sculptures from Mont'e Prama, Sardinia, which van Dommelen argued are not evidence for Phoenician colonial influence nor imitations, but the result of creative mixing of Sardinian and Phoenician traditions to produce powerful hybrid forms (Tronchetti & van Dommelen 2005; van Dommelen 2006). In a later example, hybrid Iberian versions of Roman iconography can be seen as subversive mockery (Jimenez 2010). In both these contexts, hybrid practices serve to undermine hegemonic discourses of colonial/imperial domination.

Beyond the production of hybrid objects, we can often detect hybrid assemblages. Sicilian ceramic assemblages for example combine vessels from different Greek and indigenous traditions: Attic cups and *kraters*, indigenous pots for communal food, and the already hybrid Siculo-Geometric pots (Antonaccio 2004, 70ff.). While cooking and food-serving shapes remained conservative, Greek wine and wine-drinking shapes were introduced in the ceramic repertoire. These imports were grafted onto indigenous banquet traditions, and transformed them in turn. Antonaccio draws on a wide range of ethnographic examples to illustrate how imported objects were interpreted according to indigenous cultural logic.[3] In her view, the 'hybrid table' of the Sicilian banquet was a space for the complex renegotiation of social relations and identities, prompted by Greek colonisation. Crucially, the encounter transformed both indigenous Sikels and colonial Greeks, the Sikeliotai (Antonaccio 2001). In sum, the concepts of hybridity and hybridisation allow us to recognise when indigenous people respond to a dominant or foreign culture in meaningful ways. Hybridity has also been helpful to undermine hegemonic discourses in modern scholarship, e.g. the idea of monolithic Greek identity.

Post-colonial theory and the key concepts discussed here also have their problems. One incisive criticism of hybridity and the middle ground approach is that the middle ground is the site of both creative breaking of boundaries and the failure of communication; hybridity produces creole languages but also a sense of displacement, and often violence (Coombes & Brah 2000). We therefore have a moral obligation not to interpret hybrid objects naively, as evidence of celebrated multiculturalism, without explaining what is at stake in hybridisation – not some idealised tolerance, but often violence, tension, and loss of sense of self.

A crucial, related issue is whether and how we detect such subtle but important differences in archaeological situations. The examples cited above are carefully selected case-studies

[3] For example, one Inuit group adopted decorated European ceramics for display and gift-giving during potlatches; the vessels were then kept as valued gifts. Another south-west Alaskan group adopted European cups alongside tea, and developed ceremonial tea-drinking. Finally, the Heiltsuk repurposed European washbasins and used them for serving food. Despite dramatic differences across these groups, one emerging pattern was that ceremonial contexts were more receptive towards imports than everyday life (Marshall & Maas 1997).

that allow the authors to apply hybridity and mimicry to archaeology in a way that preserves the concepts' original association with power and subversion. For the most part, however, it is very difficult to discern when hybrid objects and practices play a subversive role.[4]

One cause of this problem is that the post-colonial critique and its concept of hybridity were developed in literary studies and anthropology with reference to experiences of modern colonialism and imperialism. Issues emerge when we try to interpret archaeological evidence with tools designed for literary and ethnographic material. Moreover, the encounters that took place in the world of modern empires and the political institutions of this world were different from the encounters and institutions of the (early) 1st millennium BC Mediterranean, notwithstanding some broad similarities. Therefore we cannot apply to antiquity the concepts that were developed with reference to modern experience uncritically. The power-balance between ancient Greek 'colonists' and locals should be investigated, not assumed. We also need to accept that the more subtle aspects of power-relations in the past might remain unclear. It is therefore often unwarranted and anachronistic to speak of 'hegemony' or 'colonial dominance' and, accordingly, of subversive hybridisation. This raises the question: how do we operationalise the concept of hybridity in archaeology (see van Pelt 2013a)?

When used unreflexively, hybridity can become a mere description of mixed material. This is why, in Malkin's view, the middle ground is more useful, because it requires a historically specific contextualised account (2004, 356–7). I see no reason however why studies of hybridity cannot be done with scrutiny to contextual detail. From the first application of hybridity in archaeology, van Dommelen (1997) was at pains to underline that we must study the *practices* producing and deriving from hybrid forms. Hence, in my analysis I will take hybridity as starting point and investigate the practices of production and consumption that create hybridity as well as the consequences of hybridity.

When we investigate practices, it is important to consider which specific elements of foreign material culture people adopt and remix, how, and why. This point is underscored

[4] Even in anthropological situations, how one interprets cultural borrowings and imitation can be a highly contested matter (see Ferguson 2002).

by James Ferguson's insightful review of the anthropology of imitation. Ferguson (2002) builds on earlier observations by Godfrey Wilson who observed among the inhabitants of a mining town in then North Rhodesia a fascination with European-style formal clothes and ballroom dancing. In 1941, Wilson interpreted this use and display of European clothes as a claim to status and membership in 'world society'. Such interpretations were abandoned later on as anthropologists became concerned with identifying hybrid, subversive practices and sites of resistance. But – Ferguson argues – when African urbanites adopt formal European dress and when they wish for democratic institutions or education, this is not subversive appropriation of 'Western' culture or the sign of a 'colonised mind' (after Fanon). It is a claim to membership in global society. Ferguson's emphasis on membership can be combined productively with an archaeological study of consumption (see above) as documented in hybrid assemblages. It is then our task as archaeologists to explore what kinds of community people were claiming membership to through the adoption of foreign or hybrid objects or practices.

Another solution to operationalising hybridity is offered by Charles Stewart, who confronts the most common criticism is that the concept of hybridity requires the existence of two initial 'pure' separate cultures (see e.g., Antonaccio 2005, 100). This is an invented, not an actual problem, if we appreciate that hybridity relates to time, and ultimately, all cultural forms are in a continuous process of being redefined through mixing: "Yesterday's hybrid becomes one of the progenitors of tomorrow's hybrid. It's hybrids all the way down" (Stewart 2011, 53). For example, contemporary English contains a mix of foreign words, but it is still a recognisable language vis-à-vis French. The population of Britain today is a mix of people from different places, but today they are still identifiable as British citizens or residents. And if a person from Britain had children with someone from France, their children would be British-French, a third group of people. As Stewart (2011, 52) notes, "calling … a culture 'hybrid', is thus not much of a revelation for scholarship", hence we should consider not the taxonomy, but the politics of hybridity.

Stewart proposes to study who constructs narratives of hybridity or purity, and to what end. This involves a historiographical examination, in my case, of the construction of Greek and Thracian identity and different ideas of mixing. As we saw, emphasising the purity of Greek culture reifies its status; by contrast, highlighting hybridity helps to undermine narratives of hegemonic dominance.

A second key point to which Stewart points us is to examine how people create and move between spaces of identification and zones of difference. To explain these terms, he uses the example of Japanese people who settled in Brazil. After a few generations of living in Brazil, they 'returned' to Japan as migrant workers and felt foreigners in their 'homeland'. Japan had become for them a zone of difference where they felt alien and Brazil – a space of identification. Their identity belonged in a third space, as a Japanese minority in Brazil. In archaeological terms, we can search for spaces of identification and zones of difference by examining how spaces differ in terms of human experience – e.g. to what extent would someone from a Greek city find themselves in a different material world, coming to a settlement in Thrace? The same logic applies to objects: did a Thracian banquet set come from a different material and social universe? To what extent was there room for mutually recognisable practices? We should also consider how spaces of identification and zones of difference shifted over time. In short, this involves looking at how people use material culture to develop relations of identity and difference, to claim membership in existing communities or create new ones.Jonathan Hall's work can be read in these terms. His study of historical discourses of self-definition shows that unified Hellenic identity crystallised in the 5th century BC, when 'Greekness' was constructed in opposition to the Persian Empire and various 'barbaric Others'. Before the Classical period, regional and civic identities were more prominent (Hall 2002). These shifts could be read as an evolving zone of identification.

Entanglement

Another way of looking at hybrid assemblages is offered from the notion of material and cultural entanglement, deriving from Nicholas Thomas' work in the Pacific (1991; 2002). As a notable example Michael Dietler (2010) has analysed Greek-indigenous encounters in Mediterranean France, with a concern for how objects crossed cultural boundaries, how they entered indigenous regimes of value, how they were appropriated, and what effects they exerted over indigenous societies. His work is also strongly informed by perspectives on consumption, discussed above.

The foregoing pages considered different models proposed to understand Greek-indigenous interactions across the Mediterranean and Europe, leading to several outcomes. First, there is a wide range of encounters between Greeks and non-Greeks. Accordingly, different models are appropriate for different periods and different places. This is why the history of Greek-indigenous relations is best understood at a local level. The best tools for

the task seem to be the notions of consumption and hybridisation, which offer a way to elicit the variability of the encounter, to take on board indigenous agency and meanings. Another key outcome is that it is equally important to understand how our perceptions of identity and colonialism in antiquity and the modern world have been mutually constituted, for instance by modelling ideas of ancient colonialism on modern imperial expansion, mapping ideas of 'civilisation' and 'barbarity' on ancient societies, and inventing Greek antiquity as the mythical origin of European modernity.

3. Thracian-Greek relations

Building on the appreciation of local historiographies explained above, this section will examine how scholarly discourses produced certain ideas about Thracian-Greek relations, and with what effect. It is important to appreciate why scholars espouse certain models, why some visions of the past survive over others, and how this disciplinary heritage shapes the extant data and our ongoing interpretations. Here I will highlight the key points in the historiography of Greek-Thracian relations, in order to juxtapose it to the models above. I will then give a more detailed historiography for each case study chapter in order to understand how historiographical debates shaped the interpretation of the evidence and to evaluate the evidence more critically.

3.1. Defining 'Thracian' (1900s–1930s)

Perhaps the earliest commentary on Thracian-Greek relations appears in several papers by Bogdan Filov (Филов 1910, 1918; Filow 1917). Filov's pioneering and programmatic work defined 'Thracian art' as an object of inquiry by delineating those features which distinguish Thracian art from the material culture of neighbouring regions through stylistic analysis. He distinguished between Greek imports in Thrace, "Graeco-barbarian" objects, and "Thracian objects which have nothing in common with Greek art" (Филов 1918, 36–41). In Filov's view, artistic style was indicative of ethnic identity and he spoke of the objects with a "purely Greek character" or "a purely Thracian" execution (Филов 1918, 36, 39, 45, 47).

Filov's rhetoric of stylistic 'purity' is intertwined with his intellectual and political views (see Dimova 2010). He was at pains to highlight the distinguishing features of Thracian art, because with these early papers he carved out a niche for Thracian archaeology as a discipline. Filov's work developed in the context of a young nation state, recently

emerging from Ottoman rule and searching for its identity. By arguing that Thracian art was stylistically distinctive and related to medieval Bulgarian art (Филов 1918, 55), Filov claimed the antiquity and legitimacy of his nation – like many culture-historians of his day (cf. papers in Díaz-Andreu & Champion 1996).

In Filov's second group of objects, "the subjects of the images are Greek, and their execution – purely barbarian" (Филов 1918, 39). He explained individual objects with mixed features through the artisan's agency: Greek subjects were "not copied mechanically, but changed and reworked according to the personal views and in the terms of local masters" (Филов 1918, 39). Conversely, Greek masters sometimes adapted their production to suit the taste of local patrons (Филов 1934, 233). But at a larger chronological and regional scale, mixing could lead to alteration of identity. For example, on the one hand "Thracian art could not keep its indigenous character for long. The more Hellenistic-Roman culture penetrated into Thrace, the more the artistic work of this country took the forms and style of classical art" (Филов 1918, 54). On the other hand, "Greek colonies on the Black and the Aegean coast served as conductors of Ionian influence in inner Thrace… Apollonia … must have played an especially important role, since its art was in a flourishing state and still carried a purely Ionian character in the 5th and 4th century BC" (Филов 1918, 38–9).

As these passages show, in Filov's vision the flow of influence is not reciprocal. While Greek art preserved its character, Thracian art became assimilated into 'classical art'. The vocabulary Filov used to differentiate between "Greek" and "barbarian" styles, reveals that he understood the transformation of Thracian art under 'Greek' influence as a civilising process. Hence, Filov's vision of Greek influence on Thracian art resembles the Hellenisation model described earlier.

Interestingly, Filov's work recognises craftspeople as agents of interaction but his view of stylistic exchange differs from the perspectives on mixing and hybridising explored above. Hybridising implies a continuous process; it sees all cultures as constantly mixing and changing. By contrast, Filov's analysis operates in a culture-historical paradigm, and he perceives distinctive styles as reflective of an ethnic group identity. So when a craftsperson mixes elements of two styles, their choice is limited by a range of 'pure' ethnic repertoires of styles, techniques, and subjects. In addition, the concepts of hybridity discussed above regard the hybrid product as a 'third' culture. By contrast, in Filov's view, mixing of 'pure' styles leads to a loss of identity.

Trade is another aspect of Thracian-Greek relations, which Filov addressed. His excavations at Duvanlii uncovered a 5th century cemetery of extraordinary wealth: the graves contained a number of gold, silver, and bronze vessels and figured Attic pottery (Филов 1934). Filov thought the Aegean imports were brought to inner Thrace by trade, mediated by Greek coastal cities: Attic pots, he suggested went via Athenian colony Amphipolis, and up the Strymon valley; Ionian imports came via Milesian colonies Kyzikos and to a lesser extent, Apollonia Pontica (Филов 1934, 233–6). Filov further envisaged that the mines in Pangaion, near Amphipolis, provided the gold and silver that craftspeople needed in inner Thrace. In return, Thrace exported "agricultural produce, mainly grain and livestock, which must have constituted the main object of trade between the local population and the Greek colonies" (Филов 1934, 236).

Filov credits the initiation of contacts to the commercial interest of the Greeks: "goldsmithing must have been very well developed [in Kyzikos] and thanks to the city's extensive trade connections, it could easily place its produce in neighbouring lands, such as Thrace" (Филов 1934, 234). But he also considered indigenous demand: craftspeople requiring gold and silver, Thracian patrons influencing the production of Greek jewellers. Hence, Filov's view of Thracian-Greek relations is Hellenocentric but not uncritically so – he considered what each side had to give, and take. The inevitable problem was that in the 1930s he had very few pieces of the puzzle, particularly for the Thracian side.

3.2. Discovering the colonies (1940s–1960s)

Over the following decades, the socialist regime in Bulgaria (established in 1944) funded large-scale excavations, which brought new archaeological evidence on Thracian-Greek relations. Chapter III will explore in detail the historiography of Apollonia Pontica, one of the flagship sites.

In the light of new data Greek-Thracian relations were still seen as a primarily commercial affair, as in Filov's view. The leading interpretation posited that Apollonia's fortunes derived from exploiting the Thracian peasantry (Венедиков 1963, 347) and trade with natural resources, especially metal (Данов 1969). This vision, which resembles the core-periphery model discussed earlier and shares its Marxist footing, clashes with another vivid account which Danov formulated 10 years later (Данов & Фол 1979, 171–2), where he gives the Thracians some commercial agency:

> The Thracians were the main suppliers of the colonies' population, they brought their produce there on the market days, usually on the market square, and exchanged them for the products and goods of the Greeks, which interested them. … With the increasing process of social stratification among the Thracians … the rich began to buy more expensive tools, weapons and armour, and more expensive vessels from the Greeks. During the same time, began the minting of Thracian coins … But monetary exchange was done using not these local coins, of which a great part was immediately hoarded, but with those from the colonies. The distribution of the coins of the colonies in inner Thrace … was the most secure indicator of the wide commercial exchange between Greeks and Thracians.

The quoted passage shows that for Danov, the social 'development' of the Thracians unfolded contemporaneously with their contacts with the Greeks, but he did not articulate the relationship between the two phenomena. He paid attention to social stratification and monetised exchange, because these processes are indicia for social development in a Marxian scheme. On the one hand, within the Marxist paradigm, social development is driven by internal contradictions within the system – it does not need external stimuli. This means that contacts with the apoikiai would have little effect on internal dynamics of Thracian society. On the other hand, the fact that Danov discussed the two phenomena in the same paragraph implies a causal link: contacts with the Greeks caused or catalysed social stratification and monetisation among the Thracians.

In any case, the link between Greek contacts and changes in Thracian society was expressed in subtle terms, compared to the trope of Hellenisation as 'teaching' and 'civilizing' elsewhere in the Mediterranean (p. 21 above). Nevertheless, it is implied that trade with Greek communities was a catalyst to Thracian social evolution. This narrative resonates with some problematic versions of the prestige goods exchange model discussed above (p. 27), which credited Greek traders as a factor in the stratification and development of Hallstatt polities.

Despite the newly accumulated data and the interest in trade, the archaeological evidence was not scrutinised to critically assess if Greek imports came to Thrace via direct trade, how commerce was organised, or whether there were other modes of exchange. Although scholars allowed for intermediaries in trade (Филов 1934, 233–6; Данов 1938, 194), they

tend to interpret most finds as direct imports. One reason could be the reliance on written sources and the reluctance to challenge them. For example, from a mere mention of Ismarian wine in Homer, Danov (1960a, 10) extrapolated that "[i]t is obvious that at this time Thracian wine from the lands bordering on the Cicons was object of lively commercial exchange". Another reason is that in the early decades of the Cold War, the Iron Curtain separated Bulgarian archaeology from the development of Processual archaeology, with its enthusiasm for flow-charts and quantitative methods. As a result, the old interpretative scheme remained in use: Attic pots in Apollonia meant trade with Athens, and Thasian amphorae meant trade with Thasos. Perhaps during a period of political isolation, Bulgarian scholars were keen to find international relations in antiquity? Whatever the reasons why it went unchallenged, this simplified understanding of trade led to problematic identification of the agents of interaction and an unrealistic view of Thracian-Greek commercial relation. Unfortunately, it is still common today, particularly when interpreting coins and amphorae (see re-appraisals in Chapters III–IV).

Another interpretative trope, which proved very resilient, is the implicit Hellenocentric reading of Thracian-Greek relations. Both Filov and Danov considered Thracian and Greek participants, and what they had to offer in the commercial encounter; they were keen to respectively underline the significance of Thracian art and the Pontic coast in antiquity – perhaps with a tinge of national pride. Nevertheless, their analyses retain the subtle Hellenocentrism of classical scholarship and ancient history. For Filov, educated as a classicist, it was only natural that Greek art at Apollonia should preserve its character, while Thracian art became Hellenised – because Greek art was by presumption more 'advanced' than 'barbarian' art. Similarly, for Danov the Greeks were "cultured" people (Данов 1938, 186). They stood at a higher stage of social development in the Marxian scheme: while the Greeks minted coins for monetary exchange, the Thracians used Greek coins for trade, but minted their own for hoarding (Данов & Фол 1979, 172). This example of interpreting finds using a double standard is problematic, and contradicts the numismatic evidence as we will see in Chapter II and IV. The Greeks in Danov's scheme, stood higher in the social hierarchy, as exploiters of the Thracian peasantry – a statement based on judgment rather than evidence. Hence, a Hellenocentric view of Thracian-Greek relations has persisted through the history of Bulgarian archaeology. One movement towards the opposite pole came with the emergence of 'Thracology' in the 1970s.

3.3. Thracology (1970s–1990s)

Thracology developed as a discipline in the 1970s under the leadership of Alexander Fol: a charismatic man, who secured significant influence over fellow academics and politicians in the communist party leadership. He was instrumental in institutionalising Thracian studies by establishing the Institute of Thracology in 1972. By 1983 the National Institute of Archaeology also established a new department of Thracian archaeology. Thracology was modelled on fields like Egyptology, Assyriology, Etruscology, etc. From their inception in 19th-century imperial European countries, these disciplines, dedicated to 'civilisations' beyond the Classical world, constitute their subjects as the Oriental or barbarian 'Other' of Graeco-Roman antiquity. The establishment of Thracology was a move to salvage 'Thracian civilisation' from the darkness of prehistory, give it its own discipline. Effectively, Thracian archaeology had carved out a liminal space between prehistory and the Classical world.

Through the late 1970s and 1980s, Fol became Minister of People's Enlightenment, which placed him in the perfect position to turn 'Thracian civilisation' from a personal academic interest into a national strategy for promoting the image of Bulgaria abroad. He initiated a series of international Thracology conferences and exhibitions showcasing Thracian gold 'treasures' and 'art' around the world: Paris 1974, London 1974–5, Washington 1981, Rotterdam 1981, Montreal 1987, Bonn and Mainz 1988, etc. These exhibitions showed the material and spiritual wealth of 'Thracian civilisation' – its art and treasure wrought in gold – and placed Thrace on the map of the Classical world for a wide audience.

The Thracology conferences fulfilled a similar function for an academic audience. In the proceedings of the 4th Thracology Congress held in Rotterdam, we read: "Thracology and Mycenology are just two branches of Indo-European studies which are of equal value in the discussion on the interrelations between proto-Thracians and proto-Greeks" (Best & de Vries 1989, 5). Written in the 1980s, after decades of political and academic isolation, these words read as a re-affirmation of a common European origin among Bulgarian and western scholars.

The late 1970s were also a period when the historical community in Bulgaria was engaged in writing a definitive *History of Bulgaria*, to celebrate the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state. Fol's contribution in the first volume of the series, *Primitive communism and slave society. Thracians,* firmly placed Thrace in the national narrative (Данов & Фол

1979). This, and Fol's *Thracian Megaliths* expedition (see p. 133 below) were part of a larger enterprise of defining 'Thracian culture', as a quasi-ancestor and badge of pride for modern Bulgaria. Thracology emphasised Thracian art and Orphic religion, as 'high civilisational achievements', and placed them in an evolutionist Marxian framework (see Owen 2000b Chapter 1; Sobotková 2012, 22–6). It also postulated a spiritual link between ancient Thracians and modern Bulgarians, thus carrying a nationalistic element.

One key pillar of Fol's Thracology School, was 'Thracian Orphism', a mystical religious doctrine, which promised immortality to its followers, the 'priest-kings' of Thrace and their aristocratic entourage. Thracian Orphism involved worship of the mother-goddess and the 'son-god', elements of shamanism, spiritual possession, dismembering the body upon death like Orpheus' body had been dismembered, and other secret practices. Fol thought Thracian Orphism was the esoteric precursor of Greek philosophical Orphism, which cast the Thracians as the source of mystical inspiration – arguably an Orientalist trope. As he turned to spiritual matters in the 1980s, Fol adopted a writing style distinguished by inimitable obscurity, which helped to solidify the image of Thrace as an exotic land, and his authority as sole interpreter of the past; to cite a passage (Fol 2004, 220–1):

> faith in immortality represents a magical knowledge for a direct contact with the divine energy, which is forced to incorporate the one summoning it to its mightiness. The Thracian ethnos Orphism is a teaching about this compulsion, about the way where the god follows to admit the right of a cohappening in the secrecy "to become a god from a mortal", as it is said in the Orphic gold lamella. The earned right of the mortal to become a hierogamic païs of the paredroi is a magical achievement. The traces of this achievement in the texts from Roman time and from the transitional period from Antiquity to the Middle Ages certify the hard dying Orphic hope that death is not dirt, ashes and oblivion.

One contrast that Fol emphasised is that Greeks lived in *poleis*, and Thracians lived in *ethne*, after Aristotle's opposition (Фол 2009, 76ff.).[5] Fol then insisted that the Thracian-Greek encounter in the Pontic region was an encounter between *polis* and *ethne*, two different but equal political systems. Interaction between them engendered "not an ethnic, but a socio-cultural change" (Фол 1995, 35). The earlier quote on Hellenisation clarifies what he meant (Fol 1996, 183; p. 24 above). Fol envisaged Thracian-Greek interactions as a process of multilateral transformation through learning and interpreting the cultural values of the other. He insisted that neither side was stronger, but by implication, what Thrace had to give in the exchange, was the exotic and barbarian.

Many of Fol's ideas were visionary and prefigured the tenets of post-colonial archaeology from the following decades. Take for example, his insistence on the mobility and agency of indigenous Thracians, his vision of Thracian-Greek relations as a long-standing process of mutual influence between equal but different partners, and the idea of mixed bilingual communities around the Pontic shore (Фол 2009, 53). Unfortunately these nuggets of gold are difficult to find in Fol's prose, and his argumentation is difficult to scrutinise. Rather than citing specific evidence, he often opted for poetic narration, thick with the jargon that he himself invented, like the passage above. Some of Fol's ideas have been operationalised in the work of his students (see next section).

In summary, Thracology construed a complex vision of Thracian-Greek relations, sending a plea for membership in European civilisation on equal grounds as the Greek world, and simultaneously, painting Thracian identity in Orientalising shades. Thrace gave to Greece the cult of Orpheus, yet it remained inherently foreign. Some of Fol's efforts can be seen as a continuation of Bogdan Filov's work on defining Thracian culture in material terms. Both of these archaeologists-cum-politicians worked towards carving out a niche for Thracian archaeology, and a space for its protagonists on the scene of Classical history. Although Filov and Fol lived in very different times, a nationalistic agenda was on the table in both periods, and permeated in their academic work.

[5] Aristotle is the only author who contrasts Hellenic *poleis* and barbaric *ethne* – other authors use the terms fluidly (Hansen 1997, 12).

One legacy of these intellectual movements is the consolidation of Thracian archaeology as institutionally separate field from Classical archaeology. As a byproduct, we can list the perception of Thracian identity as bounded – on ethnic and stylistic terms, according to the culture-historical approach of Filov, or on socio-cultural terms, in Fol's paradigm.

These intellectual traditions also bequeathed contemporary Bulgaria an ambiguous relationship to ancient Thrace. Thracian antiquity is still used to assert membership in European identity – 'Thracian gold' was exhibited at Brussels, to celebrate Bulgaria joining the European Union in 2007. Thrace is a source of 'treasure' and national pride, but also a land of barbaric exoticism. The image, which Fol adopted and so powerfully propagated, of the mystical exotic Thrace, reinforces a long-standing discourse of the Balkans as Europe's Other: a peripheral, quasi-Oriental region, destined to be the backward neighbour of European civilisation – from antiquity into modernity (Todorova 1997).

Some of the elements of these approaches prefigure later developments in western archaeology, such as the interest in indigenous agency (albeit from a nationalistic perspective), and the attention to social rather than ethnic processes. They were unfortunately, not developed much in later scholarship.

3.4. Recent studies

If over the 20th century, studies on Thracian-Greek relations have been swinging between Hellenocentric and Thracological agendas, some recent studies appear to re-balance the picture. Several scholars, often former students of Alexander Fol, have taken on his ideas. For example, Maya Vassileva has taken Fol's attention to the multilateral engagement between Thrace, the Aegean, Anatolia, continental Europe, and Skythia (Фол 2009, 81), and produced nuanced accounts on interactions between Thrace and Anatolia (Vassileva 2010; Василева 2011). Theodosiev (2000a, 204) takes up Fol's reluctance to classify ambiguous objects on ethnic grounds, when their potency derives from their polysemic style that linked elites across wide geographical areas (Sears 2013, 186; Theodossiev 2000a, 204; cf. Фол 2009, 82). Rumyana Georgieva has argued that local elites near Karnobat and Greek colonists engaged in commercial exchange as equal partners (Georgieva 2009, 256), adding substance to Fol's vision. Although these scholars do not explicitly reference Fol's work, it is unsurprising that elements of his paradigm shaped their approach as his doctoral students. Crucially, they address the issues formulated by

Fol through close analysis of the evidence, and in relation to contemporary theoretical concepts, such as hybridity.

Reading Classical sources critically and recognising the diversity of local histories (Damyanov 2015) are two other approaches that have recently contributed to a balanced view of Thracian-Greek relations. As a result, scholars have made bold steps towards overcoming the inherited Hellenocentric perspective, and towards understanding specific historical situations of conflict or cooperation between Thracians and Greeks (Ilieva 2011; Owen 2003). Most recently, Matthew Sears (2013) has drawn attention to the ambivalent and multifarious relationship between Thrace and Athens. Besides the stereotypical image of barbarism, the historical sources reveal that Athenians had an ambivalent relationship to Thrace. For many Athenians Thrace was as a land of opportunity, a refuge in exile, and an arena where politicians and generals could advance their careers or live an extravagant heroic lifestyle, in opposition to Athenian mores. While refreshing, these studies leave an ostensible gap for archaeologically-informed research on the Thracian perspective.

On the archaeological front, important progress has been made in publishing, cataloguing and mapping various artefact classes, notably imported pottery (Божкова 2004, 2008b, 2010; Bozkova 2010; Караджинов 2010, 2012; see Appendix 2). Some contributions begin to unravel the specificities of local taste by tracing the distribution of specific forms in the coastal regions and inner Thrace. But after the catalogues, the distribution maps, and the description of patterns, most works dealing with Thracian-Greek relations conclude with modest, cautious, and vague evocations of trade and influence.[6] In many cases caution is justified – the fragmentary material is difficult to interpret, especially before the 4th century BC. But the resulting problem is that distribution patterns are universally explained as 'trade', with little regard for the intricacies of the process, and without considering other models of interaction (Tzochev 2015a). This is a critical issue, which I address in Chapters III and IV, on Apollonia and Vetren. The potential of these distribution data can be developed further if they are united in a wider historical narrative, and if their conceptual implications are drawn.

[6] Emilian Teleaga's (2008) extensive and meticulous catalogue of Greek imports from the lower Danube is an example of how so much work can been done, with so little impact on interpretation.

Zosia Archibald, one of the few non-Balkan scholars with command of the local literature, offers a position which balances specific historical narratives, dense description of archaeological patterns, and some pragmatism, e.g. “Greek language was adopted by the Thracians, like coinage, because it was a convenient means of exchange” (Archibald 1998, 316). In her most recent book, Archibald (2013c) proposed that economic systems across the north Aegean were inextricably linked from the 5th to the 1st century BC.

These new approaches to Thracian-Greek interactions are unfolding against a conservative background. Scholars of Thracian archaeology remain preoccupied with fundamental problems of classification and chronology. It does not help that scholarship is segregated between Thracian archaeology and Classical archaeology, dealing with texts, and coastal sites; between historians, epigraphists, numismatists, and other specialists; and of course, along national and linguistic boundaries too. My contention is that the research of Bulgarian archaeologists has laid the groundwork for a re-appraisal of Thracian-Greek relations, and that many of the challenges listed here can be addressed by adopting a synthetic approach which builds on existing work, and a robust conceptual apparatus.

4. Theoretical tools

The theoretical toolkit for this thesis needs to include a stance on several key issues – identity, alterity, cultural contact and social change. It also needs to conceptualise the relationship between identity, human action, material culture, and larger cultural, economic, and political systems. These issues can be effectively addressed by bringing together several theoretical currents. As a foundation, I use practice theory, originally defined by Pierre Bourdieu (1977). Another crucial current, which brings both conceptual tools and a political agenda, is post-colonial theory. As already illustrated in the models above, the key concerns of post-colonial theory are the agency of indigenous people in shaping cultural encounters, often explored in the field of consumption, hybrid production, and autochthonous social change. I also bring into the mix some insights from the material turn in the social sciences, notably, the concern for the active role of material culture in social life and the idea of affordances (Knappett 2004, 2011). Another purpose of this section is to render explicit the assumptions, which I bring to the following interpretations.

4.1. People, practices, and processes

Practice theory postulates a dialectic relationship between human actions and social systems. Subjects produce social systems through their actions, and are being produced by them at the same time. For example the university exists because lecturers teach, students study, and researchers do their research. The university as an entity has no existence beyond this collective performance. Crucially, these practices are materially grounded: the activities that make up the university would be impossible without classrooms, libraries, and laboratories. Social entities like the university exist through the interaction of human practices and material objects. Thus, the concept of practice allows us to understand the relationship between individual human action, material culture, and larger social, economic, political systems.

One important step is to recognise that the relationship between identity and material culture is unstable. Objects change their value and meaning across contexts and over time. The concept of practice helps to understand how the value and meaning changed of objects changed in past societies by looking at what people did with the objects in each context. For example, an amphora imported from Greece to inner Thrace in the late 5th century involves laborious and expensive transport of hundreds of kilometres overland. Those who consumed the contents of the amphora – presumably wine – distinguished themselves from others by the practice of drinking a rare and exotic commodity. By contrast, hundreds of amphorae litter the streets of Kabyle, a major river port city of the late 4th century, where these transport containers were as commonplace as plastic packaging today. The merchants who shipped these jars up the river and sold them on, and the people who consumed their contents, created and sustained the trade networks of the Macedonian empire. These collective practices of production, distribution, and consumption make up the larger entities, which we call ‘trade networks’ and ‘the economy’ of the Macedonian Empire. We can understand larger historical processes by looking at how such practices change, considering their changing contextual meanings and the institutions they constitute.

In sum, practice theory allows us to connect people, material objects, and historical processes like trade, and abstract concepts like interaction. Practice theory can be usefully applied to the issues of identity, social change, and cultural contact.

4.2. Identity and difference

Practice theory can be used for analysing identity in the archaeological record beyond models of acculturation. An important point, highlighted by post-processual archaeology, is that identity is not something that people 'have', but something they perform in relation to particular contexts. To continue the university example, the practice of lecturing makes the lecturer, the student becomes a student by studying, and their roles as student and lecturer exist in relation to one another.

The student and the lecturer may also hold many other identities like gender, sexuality, race, class, ethnicity, etc., and some of these identities may be compound and refer to different realms of practice. When Indian-American author Jhumpa Lahiri (2006) reflects on her "two lives", she talks about the practices which make her who she is: "At home I followed the customs of my parents, speaking Bengali and eating rice and dal with my fingers. These ordinary facts seemed part of a secret, utterly alien way of life, and I took pains to hide them from my American friends". Lahiri highlights practices around food, language, and customs as the substance of kinship, and of being Indian. Lahiri's statement also evokes the tension inherent in her trans-cultural identity: "Like many immigrant offspring I felt intense pressure to be two things, loyal to the old world and fluent in the new, approved on either side of the hyphen … But my perception as a young girl was that I fell short at both ends."

These complexities of identity are not reserved for modern processes of migration, and they are not the product of post-structuralism. Ancient accounts show they were very pertinent in the very context of interactions between Greeks and Others. In the *locus classicus*, Herodotos (8.144) we read that the "the bond of Hellenic race" is shared blood, speech, religious practices and "the manners of life which are the same for all". In another oft-cited passage, Herodotos (4.78–9) recounts the story of Skyles, the son of a Skythian king and a Greek mother from the north Black Sea:

> Scyles was king of Scythia; but he was in no way content with the Skythian way of life, and was much more inclined to Greek ways, from the upbringing that he had received. So this is what he would do: he would lead the Scythian army to the city of the Borysthenites [Olbia] … and when he arrived there would leave his army in the suburb of the city, while he himself … would take off his Scythian apparel and put on

> Greek dress; and in it he would go among the townsfolk unattended by spearmen or any others (who would guard the gates, lest any Scythian see him wearing this apparel), and in every way follow the Greek manner of life, and worship the gods according to Greek usage. When he had spent a month or more like this, he would put on Scythian dress and leave the city. He did this often … But when things had to turn out badly for him, they did so for this reason: he conceived a desire to be initiated into the rites of the Bacchic Dionysos. (trans. Godley 1920)

Eventually Skyles' attraction to Greek cults cost him his life at his brother's hand. The story of Skyles resonates with Jhumpa Lahiri's observations on the tensions of trans-cultural identity, and it affirms the concept of identity through practice, which I have been advocating. Perhaps some of the tensions of trans-cultural identities are indeed possible, because identities are unstable. Identity can be changed through practice, and equally needs to be sustained through practice.

These observations have several implications for this thesis. First, that we should start by assuming diversity, and examine how bonds of identity and lines of difference are made and sustained through practice. Second, we should recognise that certain identities are pertinent for certain projects, and not for others. As Hall (2002, 219) recognises, "the issue of Hellenic identity, let alone how it was to be defined, was relatively low on the list of self-reflexive priorities". Nuance here is significant: while a discursive awareness of Hellenicity "frequently had little practical relevance in daily life", many mundane activities and the material culture that enabled them made up the habitual identity of an Athenian citizen for example. As the examples above show, practices related to language, religion, and food, often become the locus of identity in migrant communities – and some of these are archaeologically identifiable.

Another point to take on board in the discussion of identity is the way objects make subjects, i.e. the active role of material culture. Object agency has many manifestations. One powerful way of thinking about it is Bourdieu's notion *habitus*, postulating that people internalise collective social norms, values, and expectations through the experience of daily life. Interaction with the material world is crucial for inculcating such ideas in and on the body. The habitus forms an important part of a person's identity, and contributes to the reproduction of collective values, predilections, and structures. Habitus is learnt through observation, emulation, and engagement with the social and material environment.

For example, having separate men's and women's changing rooms inculcates the idea that it is unacceptable for either sex to see the other nude in a public context. The arrangement of the seats in a lecture hall, orientated towards a single podium separate the audience from the speaker, and compel the group to listen to one, rather than converse among themselves. The habitus is thus a powerful way of naturalising separation and hierarchy.[7]

One aspect is what Knappett (2004) terms affordances: the physical possibilities and sensual properties of material culture, which affect the way people interact with objects. The material affordances of objects allow different users to involve them in different practices and projects of identity, which is important in the context of cross-cultural encounters. Archaeological examples include the appropriation of Mycenaean shapes by indigenous peoples in the Levant during the Bronze Age. High-footed drinking cups were often repurposed as incense burners, and *kraters* intended for mixing wine and water, were used for drinking through a straw, according to local tradition (Stockhammer 2012a, 22–31). In more extreme cases chamber pots can become cooking pots (Dabal 2008, 26). Objects might radically change their function and meaning by being included in different practices. Envisaging a dynamic relationship between humans and material culture means that subjects can manipulate objects by incorporating them into existing forms of habitus, and objects can alter subjects by creating new forms of habitus.

This approach to identity via practice theory differs from the approach customarily taken in Thracian archaeology, and even in post-colonial archaeology of the 1st millennium BC Mediterranean,[8] because it steps on a radically different philosophical foundation. The 'traditional' approach, at the heart of 'western' philosophy, sees identity and difference as polar opposites. Following from Leibniz's Law, two entities X and Y are identical if they share the same properties, and different if they do not (Forrest 2012). Although Leibniz's Law applies to metaphysical entities, this same principle underpins the structure of archaeological typologies, as well as traditional ideas about ethnic groups as bounded,

[7] Bourdieu's habitus is similar to Foucault's (1979) notion of discipline, which also covers the inculcation of social norms through the body, but focuses on violence and surveillance.

[8] Some recent literature on Bronze Age interactions in the East Mediterranean employs a similar approach, combining notions of the habitus, hybridity, and other concepts I discuss here (see Maran & Stockhammer 2012; Stockhammer 2012a; 2012b; 2013).

distinctive entities. Classifying the communities which settled the *apoikiai* and the communities inland in 'Greek' and 'Thracian' is one such oppositional classification. It relies on the idea that these communities had stable identities which could be characterised by a series of properties expressed in material culture: 'Greek' vs. 'Thracian' pottery, language, funerary practices, religious architecture etc. The models of hybridisation and creolisation discussed above reproduce this problem, since they also rely on the pre-existence of bounded entities to be mixed. The deep-seated assumption in this approach to identity is that signifiers convey meaning.

Post-structuralist philosophy offers a radical departure from this approach through a critique of representation. Jacques Derrida's (1982) concept of *différance* captures the idea that meaning, and by extension difference and identity, are not fixed but elusive and always deferred to further signifiers. Derrida draws attention to the failure of language to convey meaning, thus opening space for ambiguity and confusion. It then follows that both language and social life are inherently plagued by ambiguity. Meaning, and identity by extension, is emergent and obscured in the process of performance. Gilles Deleuze (1994) inverts the traditional relationship between difference and identity, arguing that difference has ontological priority. Identity is not an apriori state – entities become identical in the process of becoming themselves.

Identities are the effects of difference, because they are produced through social differentiation. In archaeological terms, this means that we should assume the primacy of difference rather than identity beneath the terms ‘Thracian’ and ‘Greek’, and that we should instead examine how people used objects to develop relationships of difference to assert bonds of identity. Privileging difference over identity allows us to perceive how people pursue identity by creating bonds across vertical and horizontal lines. For example, people across the two communities who might share more than the members of any one community. The post-structuralist view of difference entails that we would expect diversity and ambiguous, deferred statements of identity; the visibility of group identity through patterns of common difference would be a surprising phenomenon – the product of shared actions or conscious display of affiliation.

To sum up, there are two broad projects of identity here. One sees groups and identities as bounded entities defined by a series of characteristics, describable as archaeological cultures. The other sees groups and identities as relational diverse entities, performed with varying degrees of clarity in different contexts, constructed and deconstructed through

time. The first approach has underpinned most research on ancient Thrace. Relying on this approach, scholars have built and refined a chronological framework and described the regional specificities of material culture. Without this work we could not even approach the analysis of social processes. Inevitably, typologies privilege similarity over difference in order to organise material in a practical way in relation to a specific question. However, relying on this approach alone can preclude us from investigating the complex, ever-changing, and ambiguous nature of the communities we are investigating. This is why we can embark on a different project which privileges difference and ambiguity, and looks at the construction of group identity in different contexts.

Asserting that there is tremendous regional and intra-regional variability within Thrace is no novelty; however, the implications of this variability have so far not been explored. We must appreciate the significance of diversity and the factors producing it, in order to go beyond blanket terms such as 'Thrace' and 'Greece', and to understand the interaction between diverse communities from the south-east Balkans and the Aegean.

The ideas presented above prefigure a specific approach to social change and cultural interaction. I will be examining identities, which are always in the process of becoming over time. Thus, social change results from the interaction of other short-term events such as military campaigns, environmental events, and long-standing structures such as the habitus, which subtly change over time, through a process of individual regulated improvisation. In this framework, the archaeological question is how imported material culture fits in existing practices of production, distribution, and consumption. This approach responds to concerns raised in previous research, notably, the need to consider attitudes towards innovation across different social spheres (Morgan & Arafat 1994, 131). I will now proceed to translating this conceptual framework into a methodology.

5. Methods and scope

5.1. Geographical and chronological scope

The aims of this thesis, to explore the variable nature of Thracian-Greek relations, and the place of Greek imports in Thracian society, impose certain methodological requirements. I will address them, using some of the tools identified in the literature review. First, if we are to study how Thracian-Greek relationships change over time, the chronological scope needs to extend over a long period, from before the settling of apoikiai in the EIA to the

early Hellenistic. Second, if we are to understand variability, the geographical scope needs to cover different micro-regions, e.g. to look at coastal and inland encounters. Third, we need to consider different social spheres: burials, settlements, and cults. Fourth, in order to balance breadth with in-depth consideration of meaningful social actions, the project adopts a multi-scalar approach. Finally, because the thesis bridges the divide between Thracian/Prehistoric and Classical archaeology, and deals with literature not very well known in English-speaking academia, it also requires a critical historiographical review. The methodological tool-kit also needs to adapt to the possibilities of the evidence, which as we will see, are often limited.

In order to give a long-term perspective and cover geographical diversity, Chapter II will offer a regional overview of burials, settlements, and cults from the EIA to the early Hellenistic. I will also study what imports were adopted in each sphere, how they were used, and to what effect. Covering such a wide range of low-resolution data is a difficult task, and the exercise will certainly reveal many gaps and unknowns. However, any research plan which excludes part of these data risks missing an important aspect of the cultural encounter. I will balance this by combining regional-scale distribution maps with more detailed studies of selected examples.

I made an effort to collect Bulgarian, Greek, and Turkish publications on well-researched sites, but inevitably certain areas will have to remain marginal to the discussion for different reasons. Judging by the written sources and scant finds, Turkish Thrace was geographically and historically important, but it remains under-explored archaeologically (see Czyborra 2001; Gyuzelev 2005; Гюзелев 2009, 151–79, 277–93 for recent summaries). Northern Bulgaria also has received limited attention, apart from the north-east (for key publications and summaries see Stoyanov 1997; Theodossiev 2000b; Торбов 2005; Teleaga 2008 on Greek imports). By contrast, EIA Thracian-Greek relations on the Aegean coast, Thasos and Samothrace have already been studied from a post-colonial perspective in the doctoral theses of Sara Owen (2000b), and Petya Ilieva (Илиева 2006) and their ensuing publications. Zosia Archibald's recent monograph addresses the later period (2013c).

Given this background and my concerns with regional variability, I will focus on two contact-zone cities, Apollonia on the Black Sea (Chapter III), and Vetren in the upper Hebros valley (Chapter IV). These two case-studies allow us to see how Thracian-Greek relations unfolded in different geographies of connectivity, including sea-borne, riverine,

and overland routes. Apollonia and Vetren are selected because they were sites of relatively intensive contacts between Thracian and Aegean communities, they cover a considerably long chronological sequence, and they are among the few sites with a workable state of publications. The case-study approach is the only way to deal with an overwhelming amount of excavated material, often published without quantitative and contextual information. I will examine to what extent these two sites are representative of the wider situation by contextualising them with reference to regional patterns, and juxtaposing them to other Thracian, Mediterranean, and European comparanda.

Each of the case-study chapters begins with a historiographical review of the debates, to which my work responds. In Apollonia, we are dealing with a Black Sea apoikia, allegedly, a typical 'Greek' city with strong commercial links and cultural influence in the hinterland. Current scholarship interprets Vetren as a Thasian *emporion* called Pistiros, a strange case of a Greek settlement deep in the continent. Each chapter then recounts and discusses the chronological development of the site, its trade, production, and its relationship to the surrounding region. Through these data, I examine how people used material culture to articulate their identities and differences, and I seek to identify what are the practices which underpin object distributions and technological transfer.

Using a multi-scale approach will help to reconcile the tension between large-scale models emphasising economic processes (e.g. core-periphery interactions), with studies of how objects were used with varied meanings in indigenous contexts. Thus, the evidence for trade and other types of exchange will be integrated, moving towards multifaceted accounts which involve a broad range of social actors, groups, and communities.

Finally, a study of interactions should also ideally consider what Thrace gave to Greece. We know that despite anti-barbarian discourses, non-Greek places like Thrace and Persia exercised a strong pull on Athenian society, and the 'barbarian' world was an important symbolic resource in the Athenian imagination (Miller 1997). In this vein, Matthew Sears (2013) has recently showed that Thrace offered Athenians generals and other elites in exile a series of attractions: the experience of living in mythical luxury among Thracian princes; opportunities to accrue wealth and the power to act beyond the limits mandated by Athenian democracy. Historical sources also tell us that Thrace exported metal and timber, slaves and soldiers, and other crucial commodities, which unfortunately do not survive. The scale and chronological dynamics of such flows remain guesswork, and they will therefore stay beyond the scope of my study.

5.2. Data collection

As I focus on the place of Greek imports in Thracian society, there are several categories, which I will consider in more detail, and which require methodological notes. First of all, my data collection with regard to almost everything, is limited to published materials. This involves some publications, whose identifications are outdated, because new typologies have emerged. The study of coins, fibulae, Attic pottery, Greek amphorae, architecture, epigraphy, and most fields I will touch on, has many intricacies, and I make no claims to expertise in any of them. The constraints and aims of this project, the fragmentary publications, and limited access to material, make it impractical for me to reclassify primary data (e.g. amphora drawings), in order to update provenance and dating in existing studies. Where possible, I have updated the dates of sites and artefacts through consultation with colleagues, who have shared comments and unpublished work on the primary material (their input is acknowledged through the text). In most cases however, I am limited in relying on published data, and approaching them as a critical reader. The published data are often likely to be outdated/wrong with regard to precise dating, provenance, and quantity of finds. It would be misleading to look for fine-grained chronological change or intra-site statistics in the data on amphorae and imported pottery, or coin hoards; but they are good enough as low-resolution indicators of general trends.

5.3. Patterns and inferences

Second, there is a common misconception in the Bulgarian literature that amphorae, coins, and other imported material, indicate direct (trade) connections between the findspot and the site of production. However, each of these categories of material circulated in different and complex ways, which we should understand before proceeding to interpretation.

Amphorae are transport containers, used to package wine, oil, alongside other perishable foodstuffs. They have characteristic shapes and fabrics, which were popular in certain production centres and their general area (e.g. Thasos and the north-west Aegean), as well as more distant technologically related workshops, and sometimes in imitating workshops (Lawall 2011). We should therefore interpret amphorae with a Thasian shape as an import from the Thasian area (or imitating workshops), rather than Thasos itself. From their point of production, amphorae were picked up, filled, and circulated by ships, which carried diverse cargoes from harbour to harbour (Greene *et al.* 2008). One frequent 4th century route started in Athens, where merchants ships could get credit for their ventures,

proceeded via the north-west Aegean and Thasos to stock on wine, and then proceeded to the north Black Sea, to trade wine for grain, which they brought back to Athens; as a result, the vast majority of Thasian amphorae ended up in the Pontic region (Tzochev 2015b). Along this route, the ship would unload and load various cargoes at various ports, and the Thasian amphorae might proceed to circulate within further networks of exchange. Hence, amphorae do not give us evidence for direct bilateral trade, but for participation in inter-connected networks of exchange, along with the relative intensity and scope of these exchanges over time, and most importantly, evidence for consumption.

Coins suffer from similar problems, being traditionally interpreted as evidence for the presence of foreigners or for trading contacts with specific mints. However, a Parian coin found in Thrace does not necessarily mean that a person from Paros brought it, nor that the town traded directly with Paros. During its life-history, a coin can pass the hands of many merchants, mercenaries, and other people before it becomes lost or hoarded. Hence, the presence of coins indicates the existence of a monetised exchange networks, which connect the coin's findspot and the mint in indirect ways.

Furthermore, bronze and silver coins bring different information to the table. Silver coins were used for relatively large payments and hoarding. They circulated well beyond their mint, because silver had intrinsic value as precious metal, even in places without monetised transactions. Silver coins, normally found in hoards, are money temporarily withdrawn from the market. By contrast, bronze coins come in small denominations, designed for daily transactions. They were fiduciary money, whose value is guaranteed by the issuing authority. Bronzes generally do not circulate much beyond their realm, and can be indirect indicators of the extent of political authority. They are usually lost in settlements whilst people were shopping, handling their purse, moving in the streets, etc. So lost coins are the money to be spent; hoarded coins are money to be saved. This explains why most of the lost coins are small bronze change and most hoards are silver. We have two patterns of deposition, which I will analyse separately: coin hoards (Chapter II) and settlement coin-loss in Vetren (Chapter IV). The two patterns provide a complementary view of coin circulation.

Having laid aside the simplistic equations between coins or amphorae and direct trade or Greek presence, we can extend our appreciation of how each category of material culture circulates and functions. For example, the presence of portable, high-value imports, in isolated cases, far from their origin, is likely to indicate circulation via down-the-line

exchange. The import of bulk goods in large quantities, sustained over time, is likely to indicate trade. The use of specialised skills and technologies to a limited extent, e.g. architectural decorations on an exceptional tomb, shows us the movement of skilled masons and architects. The adoption of more widely-spread technologies, such as the potter's wheel shows us technological transfer, after initial movement of craftspeople. Similarly, the use of writing will be interpreted as evidence for various levels of literacy, within specific contexts. I will discuss the means of circulation for other objects as and when needed, and I will then infer why they were desired and used, based on contextual cues.

5.4. Summary

To recapitulate, at a theoretical level this project follows the intellectual and political agenda set by Eric Wolf's *Europe and the people without history* (1982) and continued by many post-colonial archaeologies of the Mediterranean. Wolf's book sent waves across the social sciences by highlighting the connections between regions which had formerly been studied as discrete units. The building blocks of Wolf's project are three. First, his focus on connections and mutual influences broke down the dichotomies between 'the West' and 'the Rest' to demonstrate that the history of any one region was severely limited without an appreciation of global dynamics. Second, he showed a long-running history of connectivity in each region preceding European expansion. Third, Wolf adopted a Marxist methodology, analysing flows of materials, and how different modes of production are articulated in a global political economy. Wolf's work is a useful model for my project because it offers a framework for producing a theoretically-sensitive regional synthesis, and it deals with situations where the people on each side of the encounter left different types of evidence (historical vs. archaeological), and different political legacy. I will however go beyond economic flows, and analyse a range of interactions.

At a regional level, this thesis seeks to put together a historiographical and spatial landscape that has been previously divided by disciplinary and national boundaries of 'Thracian' and 'Greek' archaeology, 'prehistory' and 'Classical' antiquity. The data should be considered together. The historiographical integration will be pursued by reviewing how the same key issues have been addressed in each field. The data integration will be done by mapping both Greek and indigenous sites and objects in each region. This

will show the extent of exchange networks, and Thracian interest or lack of interest in Greek imports.

In summary, this thesis proposes to investigate what was the nature of interactions between Thrace and Greece over the first millennium BC. Most previous scholarship envisages Thracian-Greek relations in terms of 'colonisation' or more vaguely, 'influence' and 'Hellenisation' – terms, which imply unbalanced power relations, and which place Thrace in a passive historical position. My inquiry will take an alternative approach by compiling a critical historiography of existing ideas; investigating the variability of interactions between Thrace and Greece; considering how and why imported objects, technologies, and ideas were incorporated in the indigenous cultural logic. Thracian-Greek interactions can be archaeologically detected through:

- *The movement of objects (import/export)* – through different kinds of exchange and trade, which sometimes can be archaeologically characterised as short-/long-distance, monetised/non-monetised, sporadic/constant, direct/indirect.
- *Technological transfer* – these include the adoption of foreign technologies, skills, and tools, each with its specific dynamics of employing foreign artisans or learning from them.
- *Migration* – including settlement overseas, the movements of craftspeople, and pastoralist communities;
- Violent conflict.

Each of these indicators can highlight different strands of interaction, which will be examined in geographically and historically contingent contexts; thus, they will allow us to move beyond the vagueness and the Hellenocentric/colonial overtones of existing interpretations. Naturally, many lacunae will remain: notably, the exchange of perishable goods and the intricacies of shifting conflicts and alliances, which only historical evidence can reveal. Despite these deficiencies, the archaeological material is a rich source of information, which has been under-theorised and under-appreciated. My aim here is to synthesise the evidence and examine what it can tell us about Thracian-Greek interactions. The next chapter begins this synthesis at a regional scale.

Chapter II. REGIONAL TRENDS

The aim of this chapter is to flesh out the indigenous background, long-term dynamics, and variety of Thracian-Greek interactions at a regional scale across different social contexts. To this end, I will review the salient patterns in burial practice, the main types of settlement, and cult sites, and the role of Greek imports in each sphere. Inevitably, such a broad overview will scratch only the surface of many issues that the following case-study chapters will address in greater depth.

1. Geography and chronology

I will first explain some of the geographical and chronological terms I use through the thesis, and lay out the strengths and limitations of the chronology on which further narratives and arguments are built. Thrace occupies the south-east Balkan peninsula, between the Danube, the Black Sea, and the Aegean. The western border conventionally follows River Strymon, but where 'Thrace' ends and 'Greece' begins has always been a fluid (see Archibald 2010, 326–7 for the written sources) and politically debateable line: often Bulgarian maps equate Thrace with modern Bulgaria, and Greek maps only plot Greek national territory. The fertile Dobrudzha plain and the low hills of northern Thrace are divided from southern Thrace by the Balkan Mountain Range (ancient Haimos). The Kazanlak and Karlovo valleys nestle at its foothills. Beyond them, the main Thracian plain is irrigated by Tonzos and Hebros River. Flanked by the Rhodope, Sakar, and Strandzha Mountains, the rivers lead to the north Aegean coast. The main geographical features and sites mentioned in this chapter are mapped on Figure 2.1. Climate in the Balkans today is continental, with hot dry summers and cold winters (from -20° to over 40° C). Southern/coastal areas have a warmer, Mediterranean climate, and mountains have their own, cooler rhythms.Because Thrace stands between Europe and the Mediterranean, some scholars have used the chronological conventions of European prehistory (e.g., Миков 1938; Гетов 1963; Балабанян 1986) and others– of Classical archaeology (e.g., Bozkova

& Delev 2002). This issue, common to protohistoric Mediterranean archaeologies (cf. Etruria, Iberia), reflects a debate whether Thrace belongs to 'Classical civilisation' or its 'barbaric periphery': an issue deeply rooted in the cultural construction of the Balkans as a liminal space (see Todorova 1997). For my present purposes, the Early Iron Age (EIA) covers the period between c. 1100–500 BC; the Late Iron Age (LIA) – c. 500–323 BC; and I use the early Hellenistic as shorthand for the late 4th– early 3rd century (Figure 2.1).

Chronological resolution varies through the 1st millennium BC, with important ramifications for my analysis of long-term dynamics since understanding the rate of change is fundamental to understanding the nature of that change. EIA dating is based on the relative chronologies of fibulae (Gergova 1987) and pottery (Hänsel 1976; Tončeva 1980; Домарадски *et al.* 1992), which require updating (Archibald 1998, 31–4).[9] Pottery changes gradually and fibulae can have long use-lives which makes dating resolution low during the EIA. Currently we can distinguish two broad phases, EIA1 (11th–9th century) and EIA2 (9th–6th century), characterised by gradual shift in ceramic decoration (Bozhinova 2012, 70–1; Домарадски *et al.* 1992).

The EIA–LIA transition is marked by the introduction of wheel-made grey monochrome pottery of east Aegean/west Anatolian origin. There is no comprehensive corpus or chronology of greyware in Thrace, so the crucial period between the 6th and early 5th century is very difficult to pin down, especially in more isolated or conservative regions. After the 5th century chronological resolution improves thanks to the presence of coins, Attic pottery, and stamped transport amphorae. Into the realm of written sources we also have detailed though sometimes misleading information on historical events and figures. These chronological factors entail a cautious approach to discussing change and interactions over the EIA, in broad phases, and allow an increasingly detailed view of events after 500 BC.

[9] A revised chronology has yet to be compiled; see Bozhinova's (2012) state-of-the-field review. Steps towards improving the pottery chronology have been made through excavations of long-lived stratified sites, regional typological studies (Czyborra 2001; Нехризов 2005, 2008), and radiocarbon dating – still with varying reliability (Божинова 2010; Божкова & Петрова 2011; Нехризов & Цветкова 2012; Попов & Ников 2012).

Figure 2.1. Places mentioned in Chapter II (see also Appendix 1)

[BLANK VERSO OF FOLDOUT MAP Figure 2.1.]

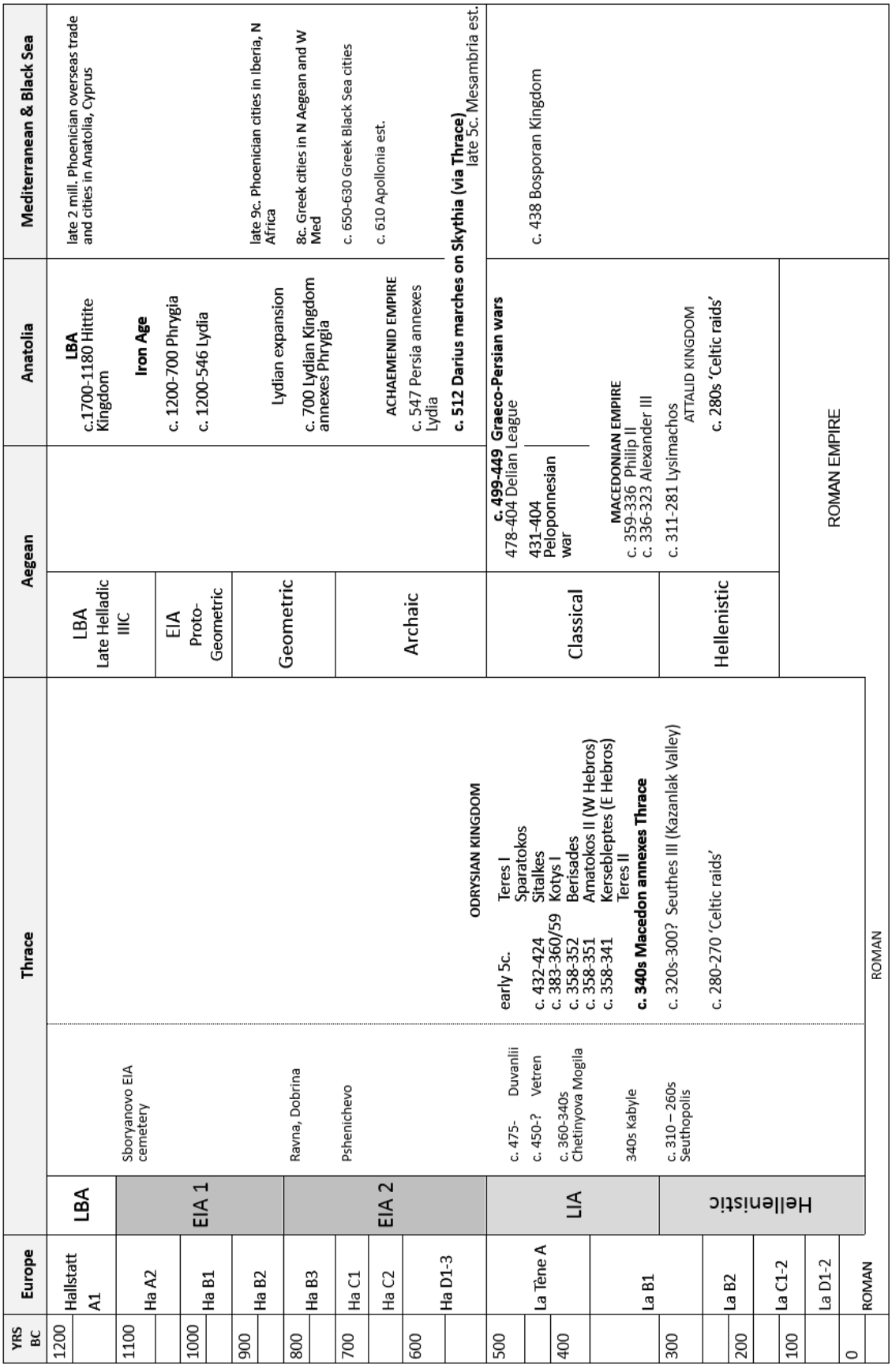

Figure 2.2. Chronological table

The issue of continuity and change between the EIA and LIA relates to the intensifying Thracian-Greek contacts, the core topic of this thesis. According to a recent formulation EIA Thrace was part of a wider "geometric *koine*", and with "[w]ith the foundation of the first Greek colonies, contacts were accelerated and this led to general changes in traditional Thracian culture, and thus to the end of the Early Iron Age" (Bozhinova 2012, 61). The following sections will address this proposed link between social change and cultural contact, starting with burials.

2. Funerary practices

Burial practice is fruitful ground for examining the construction, maintenance, and transformation of identities, traditions, and social structure. As I argued in Chapter I, we should not search for 'the Thracian' burial tradition, but rather, we should expect diverse and ambiguous articulations of identity, in which I will note any displays of affiliation through shared practice. I will pay special attention to what kinds of imports were selected and how they were used in funerary contexts.

2.1. Early Iron Age

2.1.1. Regional patterns & social structure

Existing commentaries of EIA burials agree that around the turn of the millennium, the Bronze Age tradition of crouched inhumations gradually gave way to a wide repertoire of funerary and comemorative practices (Stoyanov 1997, 109–32; Archibald 1998, 48–78; Czyborra 2001, 75–8). EIA mortuary practices involve inhumation, cremation, disarticulation, partial burning, and other complex post-mortuary activities, using various structures. This diversity forms a colourful mosaic across the landscape (cf. Czyborra 2001, 280 Karte 137). A few well-documented examples should give a flavour of EIA burials across Thrace, with more examples and details summarised in Appendix 1.

The most striking pattern in this mosaic is the diversity we see across the region, within sites, and even within a burial mound. The diversity of funerary practice has hitherto been interpreted as a reflection of tribal groups attested in historical sources (e.g. Baralis 2009) or 'cultures' such as the megalithic culture (Венедиков & Фол 1976; Фол 1982b). These interpretations however do not account for diverse burial practices within the same cemetery. For example, four mounds at Dolno Sahrane in the Kazanlak valley contained

supine inhumations with various positions of the arms (Гетов 1963, 1965; Boev 1972 passim). At Sboryanovo in north-east Bulgaria (c. 1000–850 BC), 24 individuals of different sex and age were buried under stone mounds. Four were cremated and twenty were inhumed in single or group graves. Sometimes both rites occur within the same mound (Stoyanov 1997).

Elsewhere we find communities which sustained resilient and unified micro-regional traditions. At Ravna, Dobrina, and Kalugeritsa, 100 km from Sboryanovo, 95 graves spanning the 8th–4th century consisted of cremated remains in an urn or a bowl, covered with another bowl or cup and sometimes accompanied by a jug, spindle-whorls, knives, etc. (Мирчев 1955, 1965; Дамянов & Попов 1972). From the LBA into the LIA, cemeteries in the west Rhodope were made of numerous small mounds, covering inhumations and cremations (Кисьов 2009b). Meanwhile, rock-cut tombs and dolmens prevailed in the east Rhodope during the EIA (Baralis 2009, 106 fig. 2; Нехризов 2010). This patterning suggests that while a wide diversity of burial rites existed during the EIA, community identity and burial traditions were stronger in some places, and more open in others.

The dolmens of south-east Thrace represent one distinctive regional tradition which helps to shed light on the tension between diversity and commonality in the burial practices of EIA Thrace. As part of a wider group of megalithic monuments, including rock-cut tombs and niches, most dolmens (>800) are scattered along the slopes of Strandzha, Sakar, and the East Rhodope Mountains (Венедиков & Фол 1976; Фол 1982b). Within these areas, dolmens exhibit certain regional features. Most dolmens in Sakar and Strandzha are made of heavy granitic boulders (Костов 1994), which allow for simple structures, whereas many East Rhodope dolmens are made of thin schist and mylonite slabs; thus, the availability of different local stone makes for slightly different architecture (Нехризов 2010, 93). Six dolmens on Samothrace, marking the southernmost extent of these structures, have roof slabs like dolmens and walls of multiple stones like built graves (Matsopoulos 1989 fig. 2–4; Ilieva 2008, 9–11). Evidently some variability of mortuary architecture stemmed from the interaction of geology and architectural traditions.

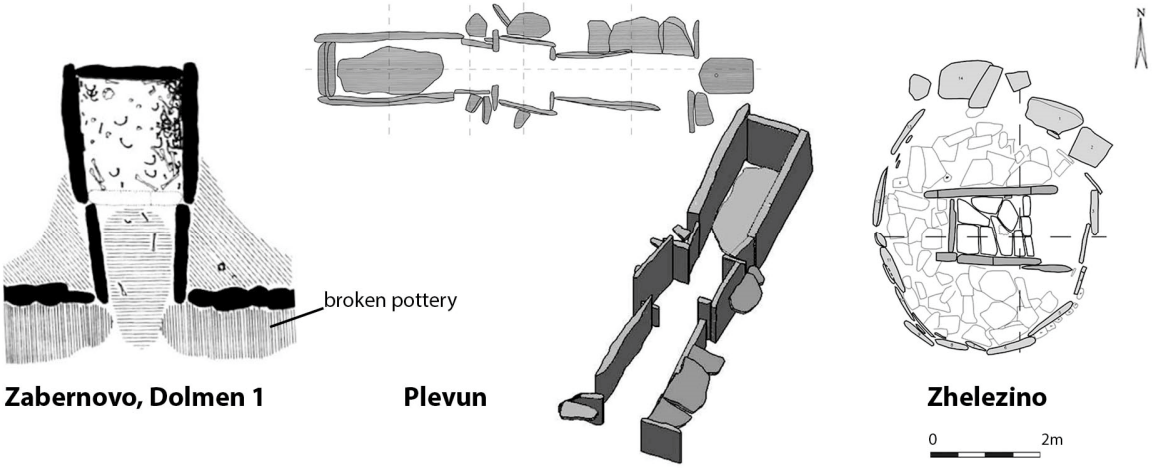

Figure 2.3. Dolmens (after Arpe 2005b, 104 fig. 1; Нехризов 2010, 88–9 fig. 3–4)

Because dolmens have a long history of reuse and looting, the practices associated with them are often unclear. However, two unusually preserved dolmens near Zabernovo in Strandzha offer some insights (Arpe 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 104–5). Both were composed of a single chamber, a corridor, and a stone-slab façade on earthen mound (Figure 2.3). A thick layer in the chamber contained pottery, some fibulae (p. 71ff. below), and the disarticulated remains of "about" 14 individuals; and some burnt bones lay in the corridor (Arpe 2003, 74). The corridor and the space in front were dense with broken pottery: the remains of funerary or commemorative feasts. The excavator interpreted the dolmen as a family tomb in which the deceased were laid one by one over generations and older bones were pushed aside. Dolmen burials raise a number of questions about attitudes towards the body, religion, and the construction of kinship, which can be effectively addressed when the human remains and the full contextual data are studied and published.

For the moment, our understanding of dolmens can be advanced through ethnographic comparison with other societies. Among the Merina of Madagascar an individual associates with a certain lineage by maintaining their ancestral tomb (within limited choice). This 'death kinship' plays a major part in group identity and largely determines an individual's place in contemporary social hierarchies (Bloch 1971). Among several groups on the Indonesian islands wealthy and ambitious families build megalithic tombs for their ancestors and throw feasts as preconditions for accruing and maintaining political power, social, and material capital (Hayden 2014, 204–5). Thracian dolmen-builders also invested great effort to create and maintain them, probably driven by a similar concern with descent and identity. Like the Merina tombs, dolmens could act as visible statements of territoriality and ancestral identity. Through long-term use, the dolmens continued to

shape the practices of the living, actively contributing to the maintenance of community identity over time. The variability in dolmen architecture and the rites performed within arises from the interaction of local geology, building traditions, and concerns with power, kinship, and identity among the living.

A tumulus from Stambolovo in the east Rhodope illuminates other processes underpinning the diversity of EIA burials: migration and hybridisation. The burial mound covered four pithoi, containing remains of three children and two adults, buried c. 1000–800 BC (Нехризов 2009; Нехризов & Цветкова 2010). The skeletons lay near the bottom of the pithoi, incomplete, and not in anatomical order, which suggests they were reburied. The deceased were accompanied by pottery, spindle-whorls, knives, a whetstone, bronze and iron fibulae, glass beads and one amber bead – grave goods contrasting with the overall paucity of adornments in EIA1. At least four other individuals were cremated, and buried in the same mound.

While the eclectic treatment of the bodies and especially the reburial of unburnt remains resembles Thracian mortuary practices, the use of pithoi is very unusual. The pithos graves from Stambolovo are spatial outliers of a common Aegean practice (Snodgrass 1971, 202–12; Ilieva 2008, 4–7; Baralis 2009, 106–7), their closest parallels being at Drama and Kastas Mound near Amphipolis (Ilieva 2008, 6; cf. Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1993, 682–6). The people at Stambolovo might have been migrants from the south, which the local community honoured by giving them a pithos burial, or they might have had other connections to Thrace and Greece, which were materialised in their burial. The fact that such hybrid burial sequences were possible – combining a 'Thracian' body treatment with an 'Aegean' burial container – shows that some communities in southern Thrace and the north Aegean littoral were aware of the idiosyncrasies in each other's traditions, and in certain situations chose to elaborate or blur the lines of difference.

Finally, the diversity of mortuary and post-mortuary practice in EIA graves might signal dramatically different religious ideas and ways of understanding the human body across Thracian societies. In other ethnographic and historical contexts, changes and differences in burials often relate to different beliefs and ontologies (Rebay-Salisbury 2012; cf. Rebay-Salisbury *et al.* 2010; Robb & Harris 2013).

As this cursory review demonstrates, EIA burials exhibit remarkable variability, alongside some micro-regional traditions and wider cross-regional practices. This level of

heterogeneity is best explained by the interaction of multiple factors: local traditions in architecture and religious beliefs, concerns with community identity, the politics of kinship and power, as well as the social status, gender, the wishes of the deceased, the way they died, etc. Another factor contributing to diversity, was the movement of people and ideas. One productive way to understand the wider patterning is to see EIA burial traditions as different communities of burial and architectural practice, operating at multiple geographical scales, sometimes cutting across regional boundaries, and shared to differing degrees across south-east Thrace. Behind these practices, we can catch a glimpse of the mosaic of concepts that determined the appropriate repertoire of actions upon death in each community.

Burials also illuminate the structure of EIA Thracian communities. The evidence of social differentiation in the EIA has often been overlooked because it is subtle. Sara Owen (2006) plotted the diversity of grave goods over time at the cemetery of Kastri on Thasos and she found that from the early 7th century, a wider diversity of grave goods, including exotica such as ivory and amber, appeared and they were used to signal increasing social differentiation. A similar pattern can be detected at Kastas Mound near Amphipolis, where the grave goods also expanded from bronze brooches, knives, and rings in the EIA towards a wider variety and greater quantity of imports and metal objects; some of the richer graves had sheets of gold, used for adornment (Archibald 1998, 75).

In inner Thrace such developments are more difficult to detect because grave goods are on the whole less impressive and dating resolution is poor. At Dobrina (Мирчев 1955, 1965) 25 graves (54%) contained only pottery – typically an urn, one or two bowls, and a cup. 17 graves had this basic kit, plus iron knives or spindle-whorls. Only 7 graves had any adornments – fibulae, metal appliques, and one shell necklace. Grave 23 which contained 5 of the 9 fibulae from the site alongside a whetstone, a jug, and bowl, might be considered rich within the cemetery. Because of the poor chronological resolution I mentioned earlier (Hänsel 1974; Archibald 1998, 61), it is difficult to ascertain chronological changes and to compare contemporary graves. It might be significant that 17 graves from Phase 1 (74%) contained only one or two objects, and graves with 6–8 objects appear in Phases 2 and 3 (in Hänsel's chronology). These subtle suggestions of social stratification contrast with more obvious high-status graves (cf. Tsarev brod, Belogradets). For example a 7th-century male grave at Belogradets, 30 km north of Dobrina, contained an iron sword with a gold

scabbard, a series of corroded metal objects (spearhead, bronze vessel), and pottery (Toncheva 1980).

Beyond grave goods many burial monuments can also be considered materialisations of status. Rock-cut tombs, dolmens, and mounds represent large investments of communal labour dedicated to a single individual or lineage. Sara Owen (2000b, 169) also observed a progressive elaboration of dolmens and the emergence of individual rock-cut tombs in the 9th–8th century, implying that power and wealth were gradually concentrated within a limited social circle.

Funerary and commemorative feasts are another social arena where elites could redistribute alcohol and foodstuffs to promote or legitimise their position, maintain reverence to ancestors, and enlist favours. Indeed, feasting is an important part of EIA Thracian grave sites. At Taşlıcabayır a woman was sent off with a feast which left 56 vessels, mostly drinking cups (Özdoğan 1987). Broken cups, bowls, and liquid containers were deposited at different levels in the mounds at Sboryanovo (Stoyanov 1997, 96–7), and a carpet of broken pots and bones often lies in front of dolmens like Zabernovo. In ethnographic examples such feasts foster community identity whilst also being arenas for elite competition and opportunities to negotiate political alliances (Hayden 2009, 2014).

We can see a degree of social stratification across EIA communities, although the visibility of these trends and their material expressions vary. Where chronological resolution allows us to discern, differentiation visibly deepens over time.

2.1.2. Imports

I will now look at how imports fitted in the context of EIA burial practices and what kinds of contacts they represent.

Pottery

Imported pottery is very rare in EIA graves. An Archaic table amphora from Miletos was used as an urn at Gyaurska Mogila near Karnobat, and some greyware jugs were smashed through the mound fill (Georgieva 2009; Георгиева & Ников 2010 fig. 6, 11, Tabl. 4.3). According to the excavators the amphora showed signs of wear, suggesting it was an old and valued object. As we will see in Chapter III, sites near Karnobat also yielded Archaic transport amphorae, suggesting that the Greek pots came here with imported wine. At

Dobrina, a 6th-century east Aegean *oinochoe* (Archibald 1998, 61 n. 40), also served as an urn in an otherwise unremarkable grave (Мирчев 1965, 39).

While imported vessels are rare, greyware pottery, an imported ceramic technology, is common. In the graves at Dobrina greyware shapes gradually replaced hand-made EIA pots. As technology changed however, the combination of vessels in each grave remained stable. Like the imported *oinochoe*, greywares were incorporated in the traditional vessel set: jugs, bowls, cups, and biconical urns (replaced by *kraters*). At least initially, the new shapes did not alter existing burial practice.

It seems that imported vessels were inserted in indigenous practices of burial and mortuary feasting. The owners of imported and early greyware vessels might have used them as markers of distinction at communal banquets, or indeed, commissioned the greyware pots for that purpose (Hänsel 1974). I should underscore however that Karnobat and Dobrina are unusual cases and both are located near Black Sea *apoikiai* – Apollonia and Odessos respectively. In most of EIA Thrace ceramic imports did not find a place in the burial sphere until much later.

Fibulae

Metal ornaments are a category of objects, which circulated much more widely within and beyond Thrace during the EIA. Among the sites listed so far, the fibulae from Dobrina have parallels in remote regions like Pavelsko in the Rhodope and Evrenozovo in Strandzha (Gergova 1987 taf. 1, 7 AI2α; Агре & Дичев 2006, 20). Among 28 fibulae found in 7 dolmens in Strandzha (Figure 2.4), Agre and Dichev identified local 'Thracian' forms alongside fibula types from the north-west Balkans, Phrygia, and Aegean islands, and hybrid objects (Агре & Дичев 2006, 10–16). For example, No. 27 combines Thracian and Phrygian traditions (Агре & Дичев 2006, 22) and No. 25 with its drop-shaped bead is a local variation of the 'beaded fibulae' (Gergova's type AI3β, cf. Nos. 22–4), which were popular in the Aegean (Ilieva 2005 fig. 3.1–9; Агре & Дичев 2006, 13).

Except for authors who assume that fibulae were imported via direct long-distance trade (Агре & Дичев 2006, 28), most scholars interpret the brooches cautiously, as signs of unspecified 'contacts'. Kilian (1975, 163) for example speaks of a "fibula koine": not so much a model of interactions, as a description of stylistic commonalities between brooches in the southern Balkans, west Anatolia, and the Aegean islands. Such vagueness is justified because in most cases we cannot know how the fibulae moved. Some were probably

traded, gifted, or worn by migrant people, others were made locally after a foreign prototype or by mobile bronzesmiths.

While distribution remains elusive, we are well-equipped to understand the consumption of fibulae as fashion items (cf. Chapter I). Fibulae are widely distributed objects with quickly changing styles which make potent markers of status and distinction. The observed proliferation of fibula types and metal adornments after the 8th century (Gergova 1987) indicates that EIA Thrace was a society increasingly concerned with distinction. In this context, imported fibulae supplemented local types which were produced, redesigned, and hybridised, to satisfy the need for distinction items. Additionally, fibulae could be appropriated into different local costumes because a brooch allows the wearer to pin their clothes in variety of ways, emphasising status, local identity, or wider contacts, as they saw fit – remember the story of Skyles who changed clothes as he entered the Greek city (p. 50 above).

Fibulae probably often moved in a larger (elite?) fashion package alongside costumes and textiles. Although textiles do not survive archaeologically in Thrace, they are the most likely transmitters of geometric designs that decorate pottery, bone, and metal objects across Anatolia, the Balkans, the Aegean and central Europe in the EIA, reproduced in local media, e.g., on painted Geometric pots in Greece, stamped pottery in Thrace (Ников 2002). This proposition is further substantiated by depictions of clothing on Attic figurines and the Hallstatt urn from Sopron, Hungary (Barber 1991, 52 fig. 2.15; Stoyanov 1997, 150, 152 drawings III, V). This discussion gives more specific meaning to the 'EIA geometric koine' as a shared material language of fashion and invites us to consider Aegean imports in Thrace within a wider context of circulating objects.

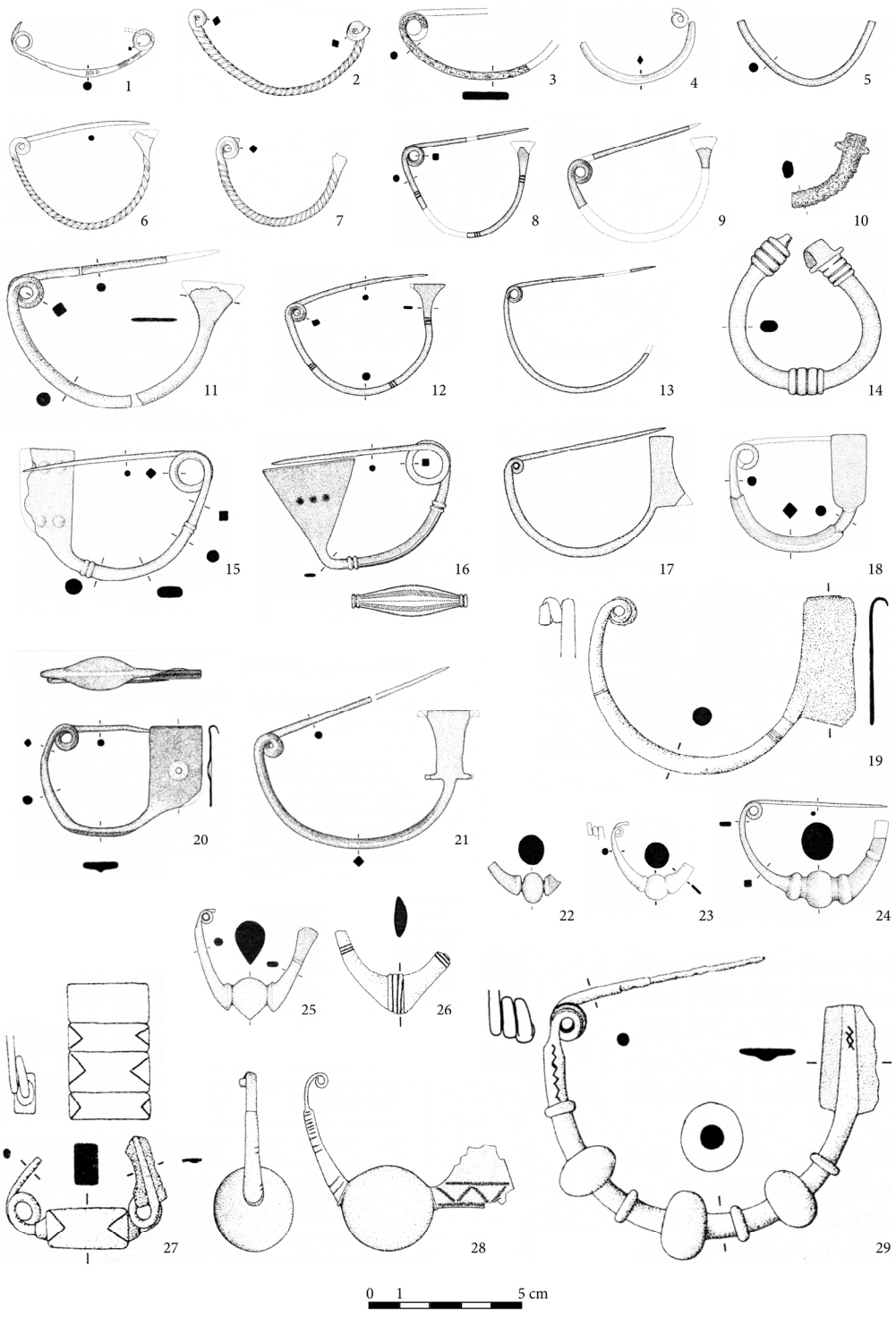

Figure 2.4. Fibulae from Strandzha dolmens (after Агре & Дичев 2006)

Amber and other exotica

Indeed, the contents of EIA graves surprise with other exotica from faraway lands. Amber is a good example since its provenance can be determined through infrared spectroscopy. Ivanova and Kulleff (2009) ascertained that amber found at 17 sites, mainly dating to the EIA, came from the Baltic region (Figure 2.6). The small number of finds suggests that amber arrived in Thrace via sporadic down-the-line exchange. The amber from EIA graves consisted of beads for personal adornment used in relatively rich graves alongside other rare materials. For example, the 7th–6th century grave from Belish yielded Baltic amber alongside textiles that apparently were dyed with shellfish purple – probably from the Mediterranean (Николова 2008). In a contemporary cenotaph mound in Lyubcha, in the Rhodope, 70 amber beads were strung in a necklace with an Egyptian scarab, dating to c. 2000 BC (Figure 2.5), and a bronze applique (Мирчев 1977; Кисьов 1988; Бончева 2010). Given the deepening social differentiation, discussed above, the consumption of these imports is understandable. Local and exotic adornments both served the needs of EIA elites increasingly concerned with distinction.

In sum, the EIA burials illuminate two lines of Thracian-Greek interaction. One is the movement of people, the sharing of funerary practices, fashions, and technological knowledge, most perceptible in an area in the north-east Aegean. The other is the sporadic and probably indirect but wide-reaching import of prestige items, usually small portable objects of metal or other rare materials. Aegean imports circulated alongside other items form mixed provenances, e.g., Anatolian fibulae, Baltic amber. In Thrace, these objects served the needs of social groups increasingly concerned with distinction who invested wealth in embellishing their bodies in life and in death.

Figure 2.5. Amber and scarab necklace from Lyubcha (Бончева 2010, 16)

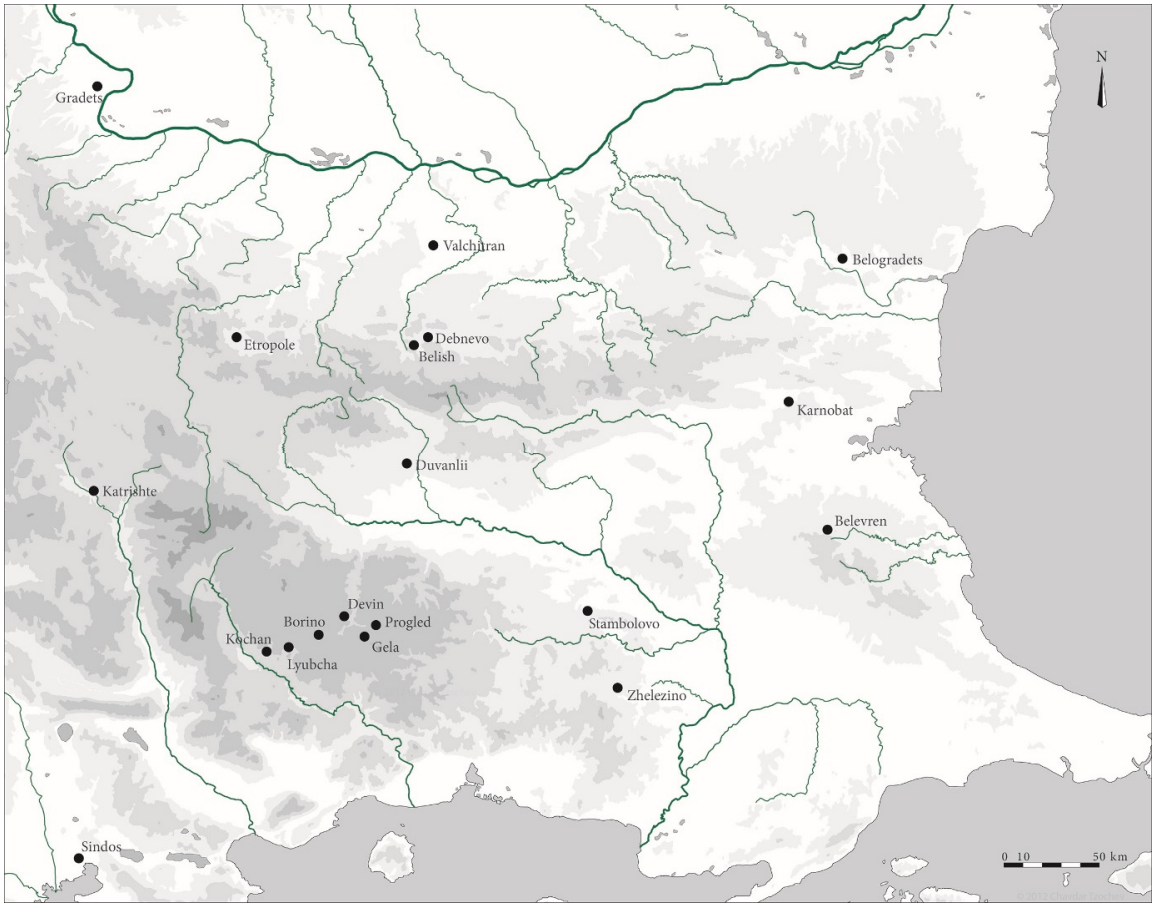

Figure 2.6. Baltic amber imports (data from Ivanova & Kuleff 2009; Георгиева *et al.* 2008; Нехризов 2009)

2.2. Late Iron Age

2.2.1. Regional patterns & social structure

Funerary practice in the LIA remained diverse and complex (Archibald 1998, 151ff.; Theodossiev 2011b, 21–35). As Theodossiev (2011b, 21) observes, EIA traditions persisted in some areas: dolmen-like tombs continued to be built in the east Rhodope (Нехризов 2010, 89–90) and groups of small burial mounds – in the western Rhodope (Кисьов 2009b). But the most striking change in LIA burials is that salient differences manifested themselves along lines of wealth and chronology, not geography. And although we lack large LIA cemeteries as quantitative samples, the trends in the qualitative data are clear and striking.

The most striking LIA pattern is the emergence of graves with extraordinarily rich inventories from the early 5th century. Well-documented examples include the Duvanlii-Kaloyanovo cemetery (Филов 1934; Kissyov 2005), Chervenkova Mogila by Brezovo

(Велков 1934), and Dalboki (Филов 1930; Taylor 1985). The deceased were laid in rectangular pits, sometimes lined with wood, stone slabs or ashlar masonry. For example at Mushovitsa Mogila, Duvanlii, a female was buried c. 470–450 BC with over 30 objects, including ample gold jewellery, glass, alabaster, and metal vessels, some of the artefacts being heirlooms (Филов 1934, 82ff.; Archibald 1998, 162 and further lit.). At nearby Kaloyanovo, a young male buried c. 425–400 BC was similarly adorned with gold and accompanied with metal plate, but also weaponry.

These graves illustrate the 5th-century rise of burials with unprecedented opulence, particularly around Duvanlii-Kaloyanovo (Филов 1934; Kissyov 2005). With their sarcophagus-like structures and lavish contents, these graves resemble the richer graves from Sindos (Βοκοτοπούλου 1985) and coastal Greek cities (e.g., Akanthos, Mesambria, Apollonia - Καλτσάς 1998 Pl. 52; Bozkova & Kiyashkina 2015, 309 fig. 6; Panayotova *et al.* 2015, 307 fig. 2).

Such rich burials existed alongside simpler graves. For example, the cremations in Mounds 16 and 17 at Duvanlii were furnished with only a few pots (Филов 1934, 149–51). One globular ceramic jar in Mound 17 has a similar shape to a silver vessel in Arabadzhiiska Mogila, which underscores stratification within the cemetery.

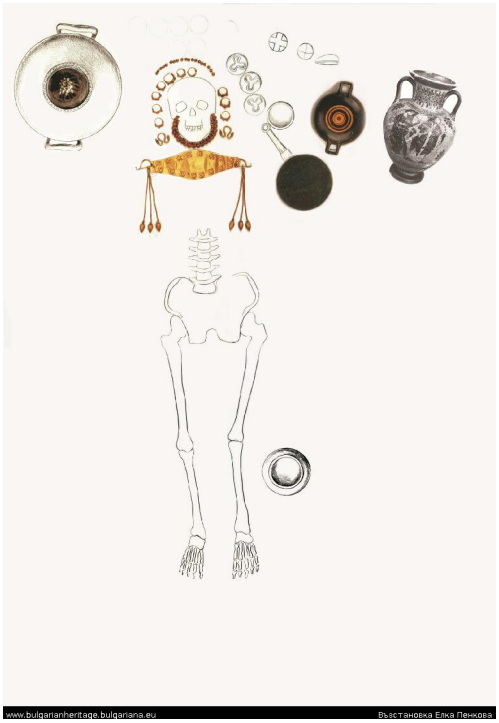

Figure 2.7. Elite female grave, Mushovitsa, Duvanlii (CC Europeana)

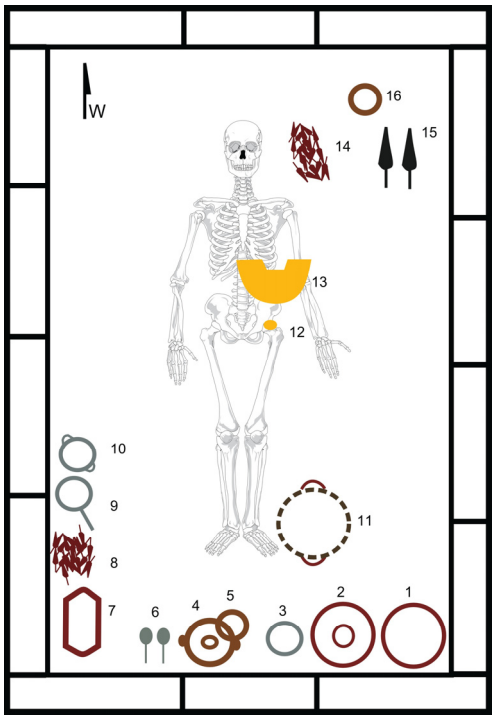

Figure 2.8. Kaloyanovo Mound 1 (redrawn after Kissyov 2005, 27 fig. 13)

The rise of chamber tombs is another expression of social differentiation in the LIA. Over 200 tombs have been excavated so far; most were built between c. 350 and 250 BC, except several early precursors – Ruzhitsa, Svetlen, Eriklice (Stoyanova 2015, 158), and Chetinyova Mogila (see Appendix 1).[10] Despite their great variability in architecture and contents, the tombs show certain regional fashions: barrel-vaulted tombs were more common in the north-east (Stoyanova 2015, 173), whereas *tholos* chambers were popular in southern Thrace; a local school of brick-built tombs developed around Seuthopolis (Чичикова 1957; Dimitrov & Chichfikova 1978, 53–4; Гетов 1991; Archibald 1998, 281–93). These tombs appear across Thrace and Macedonia and tend to cluster around centres of power such as Seuthopolis and Helis (Sboryanovo).

At many chamber tombs, we find a stable combination of elements: a burial with weaponry and drinking equipment, followed by a closure ritual with a horse sacrifice at the tomb's entrance and smashed amphorae (Tzochev 2014, 58–9; cf. Appendix 1). By choosing to follow a consistent burial ritual across different regions, the deceased and their close circle enacted membership in a wider elite military community – presumably associated with indigenous or Macedonian powers between the mid-4th and mid-3rd century.

LIA burials seem to continue the strategies of social differentiation and the practices of monumentalisation, feasting, and adornment, which we observed in EIA burials. However, LIA elites took ostentation to a new level by erecting larger mounds, elaborate tombs, and depositing astounding amounts of wealth underground. Moreover, the sudden appearance of rich graves in the 5th century suggests an episode of rapid change in which scholars have seen the rise of the Odrysian kingdom (Домарадски 1988, 85–6). I will return to historical interpretation shortly; first let us examine how through consuming foreign luxuries LIA elites articulated their identities and differences vis-à-vis other social groups.

[10] Chamber tombs are seldom published in detail. In particular, dozens of tombs, excavated by the late Georgi Kitov through the 1970s–2000s, using a bulldozer, appear only in preliminary reports. Some of the information I use here, especially on dating, comes from Chavdar Tzochev who studied some of the finds.

2.2.2. Imports

Much of the wealth invested in LIA graves was imported or derived from neighbouring regions in the form of objects, ideas, and skilled labour.

Adornment

Certain jewellery items in LIA graves, particularly bracelets and earrings, can be stylistically attributed to workshops in the Aegean and the Pontic area (Tonkova 1994, 1997; Тонкова 2002b). They mark the participation of LIA Thracian elites, especially women, in wider Classical and Hellenistic fashions across the Pontic and Aegean area. Aegean imports were supplemented by other rare adornments, e.g., amber beads (Duvanlii), Phoenician-style glass pendants (Mogilanska Mogila, Mavrova Mogila), probably acquired via down-the-line exchange. Certain earring shapes specific to Thrace but executed in Greek techniques were probably made by Aegean-trained artisans working for Thracian elites or commissioned to coastal workshops (Тонкова 2002b, 503). Imported adornments were combined with more idiosyncratic 'Thracian' items, such as gold breastplates and grave masks (Филов 1934; Theodossiev 1998; Kissyov 2005; Kitov 2005a). Clearly different practices of import and hybridisation underpin LIA jewellery sets. By wearing these adornments, LIA Thracian elites set themselves apart from the rest of their community and affiliated with wider trans-regional elite fashions and communities. Significantly, by wearing similar sets of jewellery as their predecessors in the funerary context (Тонкова 2002b, 498), Thracian elites also asserted their ancestral identity.

Metal vessels

Perhaps the most spectacular part of the elite LIA grave inventories are the dining services of gold, silver, and bronze.[11] The shapes include gold and silver *phialai*, *rhyta*, *kylikes*, jugs, perfume flasks, bronze *hydriai*, *situlae*, basins, and other rare items like plates, platters, strainers. Although we cannot ascertain which vessels were crafted locally and which were imported, many shapes have parallels in the Aegean, west Anatolia, and the Italic peninsula (Archibald 1998, 177–90, 318–35).

[11] A single EIA precursor are the three early 6th century gold phialai from Daskal Atanassovo (Николов 1961, 367–8; Стоянов *et al.* 2004, 164–74; Стойчев 2008, 2009, 21–4).

How did these vessels circulate and operate in Thrace? It has been suggested that in antiquity silver vessels served as a form of currency, used for transferring large sums of money (Vickers & Gill 1994, 38–46). Two inscribed vessels from Thrace, which name their owner and their weight in silver coins, seem to support this view (Manov 2006; Tzochev 2015a, 419). In Thrace, metal vessels circulated via diplomatic gift-exchange, tribute payment, and other kinds of transaction (Thucydides 2.97.4; Xenophon 7.3.26). In the burial context, metal vessels doubled as dining services and wealth deposited underground.

As we already saw, drinking equipment featured prominently in EIA burials. LIA graves remained convivial contexts but the service expanded in value and complexity. The wider range of shapes in LIA graves, compared to the EIA, speaks for the adoption of more complex dining etiquette. Some metal shapes like the *rhyton* might be building on a long-standing local tradition of using animal horns, although many surviving vessels are Achaemenid in style (Ebbinghaus 1999, 16–17). The popularity of *phialai* and *rhyta* alongside Greek shapes suggests that Aegean and Eastern modes of drinking were combined into idiosyncratic hybrid assemblages with immense variability: it is surprisingly difficult to spot repeated dining or libation sets within the grave inventories. As with jewellery, the distribution of metal plate during the 5th and 4th century was limited to a small wealthy circle which was further stratified internally (Figure 2.9).

Pottery

In funerary banquet sets the metal vessels are complemented by local and imported pots. Unfortunately, most publications provide only vague information about the pots. The best source of data, are several surveys on Attic pottery in Thrace, which I collated in Appendix 2. These data give some sense of range of shapes, distribution, and consumption context of imported pottery.

Excluding Greek cities and the Pontic littoral, Maria Reho's (1990) catalogue lists 25 figured vessels from the 5th century and 61 from the 4th century, almost all from burials. A more recent survey counted 33 figured vessels from 5th century burials (Vassileva 2013, 139–41), and the number for the 4th century has probably grown accordingly. Within Reho's catalogue, the range of shapes in Pontic cities is 16, and in the interior – even narrower: only 8 vessel types (Appendix 2, Table 11). These data show that a restricted

range of shapes were consumed in Thracian burials, with a pronounced preference for *lekythoi*, drinking cups (*skyphoi*), and *kraters* (Figure 2.10).

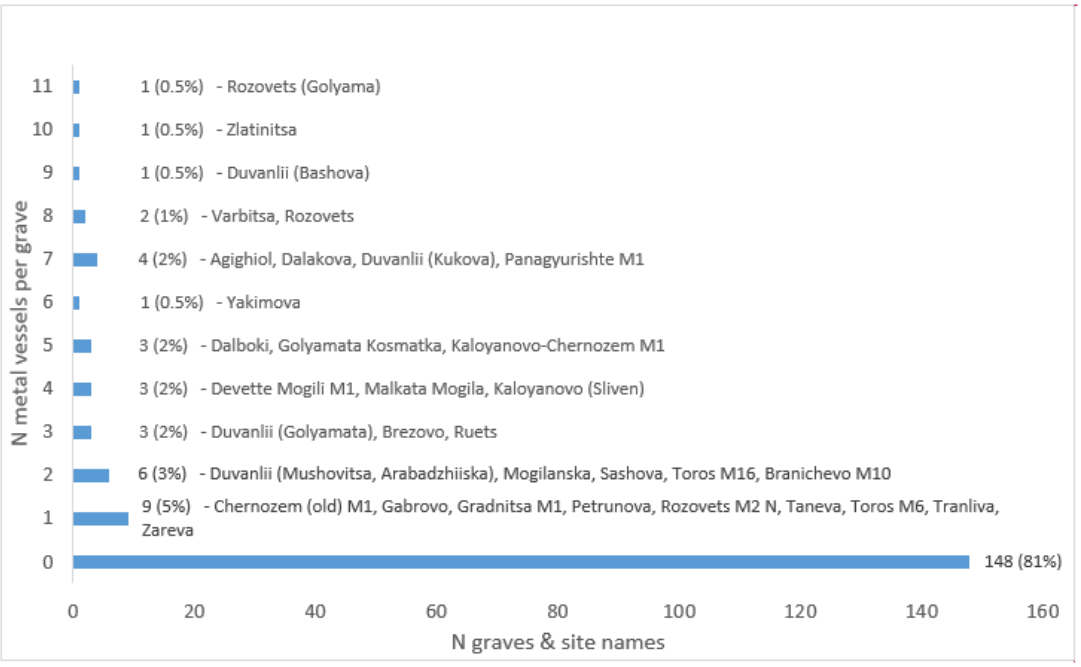

Figure 2.9. Frequency of bronze, silver, and gold vessels in LIA graves (n=182 graves) [12]

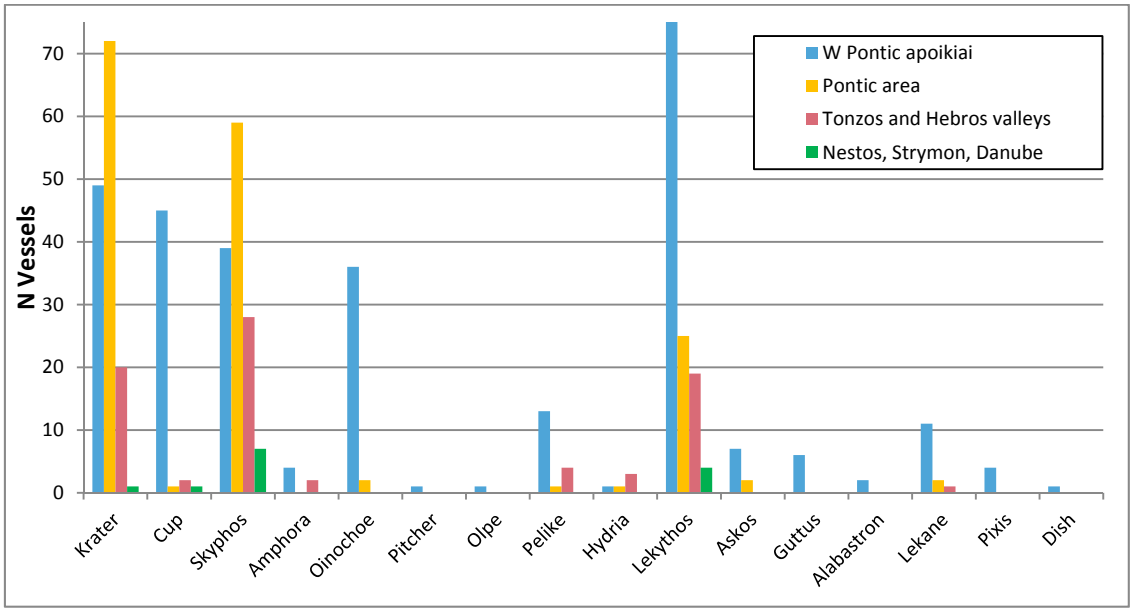

Figure 2.10. Black- and red-figured pottery shapes in Thrace, 5th – 4th century (data from Reho 1990)

[12] Descriptions of key sites are given in Appendix 1.The graph is based on a dataset of LIA graves, which I produced for my MA dissertation, available online (http://bit.ly/ThraceDatabase).

Black-glazed vessels of the 5th and 4th century (Appendix 2, Figure A.2) exhibit a similar pattern. Anelia Bozkova (2010) recorded 52 black-glazed shapes in Thrace of which 48 had Attic parallels and 4 had more unusual morphology. They came from 33 inland sites, again, mostly cemeteries, though the article did not provide a detailed breakdown, and much of the primary data are unpublished. According to Bozkova, the range of black-glazed shapes was restricted, and drinking cups prevailed.

Geographically, Attic pottery was concentrated along the Hebros and Tonzos valleys (see maps in Appendix 2). It appears in some of the most opulent graves, e.g. Brezovo, Duvanlii, Ruets, Zlatinitsa, alongside metal vessels, weaponry, and/or elaborate architecture. This led Anelia Bozkova (2010, 3) to articulate a commonly-held opinion that black-glazed pottery was an "*objet de prestige social*" in the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century and that black-glazed pots "act[ed] as specific markers [*insignes singulières*] of elevated social status" alongside other "precious objects". Considering this position, we should remember that scholars have systematically over-estimated the value of Attic pottery (Vickers & Gill 1994) and that our knowledge of LIA Thrace is heavily biased towards high-status burials. Hence it is very difficult to evaluate whether imported pottery was spread beyond elite circles based on the funerary data. This issue will be revisited in the discussion of imports in settlements further on (pp. 102 and 243–247).

Imported pottery is frequently associated with transport amphorae deposited as grave goods, during the tomb closure ritual, and post-mortuary feasting. Wine containers and imported drinking shapes spread in Thrace during the 5th and gained popularity in the 4th century, as certain social groups adopted wine and some of the accompanying pottery kit (Chavdar Tzochev pers. comm.).[13] Wine was grafted onto existing practices of funerary and post-funerary feasting from the EIA but the new beverage served the broader project of distinction of LIA elites. That said, we should investigate how the value and availability of wine and imported pottery changed over timeusing data from settlements (see next section and following chapters).

[13] Contrary to the popular association of Thrace with wine, there is neither archaeological nor historical evidence of wine-drinking in the EIA. In fact, multiple sources describe Thracians drinking beer (Nelson 2005, 16–21), and some archaeological vessels corroborate the idea (Özdoğan 1987, 9–11; Stoyanov 1997, 122 with references).

If the grave good assemblages with Attic pottery were banquet sets, then they do not appear to form coherent services or facilitate universally-sanctioned practices (e.g. see the Kaloyanovo grave above). It seems that certain imported shapes were adopted and re-interpreted in diverse and contingent ways. This reflects a fairly open notion of dining etiquette, with ample room for improvisation and individual taste. We can imagine how strange dining sets can result from personal taste and creativity. If for example, a host in Cambridge wanted to impress their dinner guests, they might show off their 'worldliness' by cooking and serving a Chinese meal with the appropriate kit (wok, dumpling-steamers, chopsticks, etc.), while offering forks and knives for guests who are unaccustomed to chopsticks, pouring French wine in wine-glasses and beer to those who prefer it. The meal might end with English summer pudding, the appropriate spoons, cream/custard jug, and coffee cups. Such eclectic assemblages are possible when a) foreign foodstuffs and vessels are available, along with some knowledge about them, and b) it is fashionable and appropriate to experiment with/show knowledge of foreign cuisine and etiquette. It seems that this was the case among LIA Thracian elites. Perhaps adopting wine, and experimenting with new drinking shapes and etiquette was an ongoing negotiation of the banquet rules, and formed part of their competitive conviviality.

Art and architecture

Several scholars have identified the hands of Aegean and west Anatolian masons, painters, and architects in Thracian tombs, working from characteristic architectural solutions and decoration styles (Archibald 1998, 283–303; Tsetskhladze 1998a, 66ff.). One early and striking example of imported Greek architecture is Chetinyova Mogila near Starosel (Figure 2.11). It was a monument built to impress: a monumental stairway led up to a hilltop with vistas over the Hebros valley, through an open vestibule, antechamber, and a round main chamber with decorative columns, metopes, triglyphs, etc. (Kitov 2001; Китов & Димитрова 2001; Китов 2008b). Erected c. 360–340 BC, Chetinyova Mogila constituted a departure from foregoing architecture in Thrace and "a very successful adaptation of the principles of Greek public architecture into a private funerary

monument" (Tzochev 2011a, 18).[14] This ambitious project must have been achieved by foreign-trained artisans. Given the strong Odrysian links to Athens, including Kersebleptes and a certain Teres being honorary citizens (Demosthenes 12.8), the artisans might have been brought from Athens, to serve the aggrandising vision of a local ruler – possibly Kotys himself, murdered in 360/359 BC, or one of his heirs (Tzochev 2011a, 18).

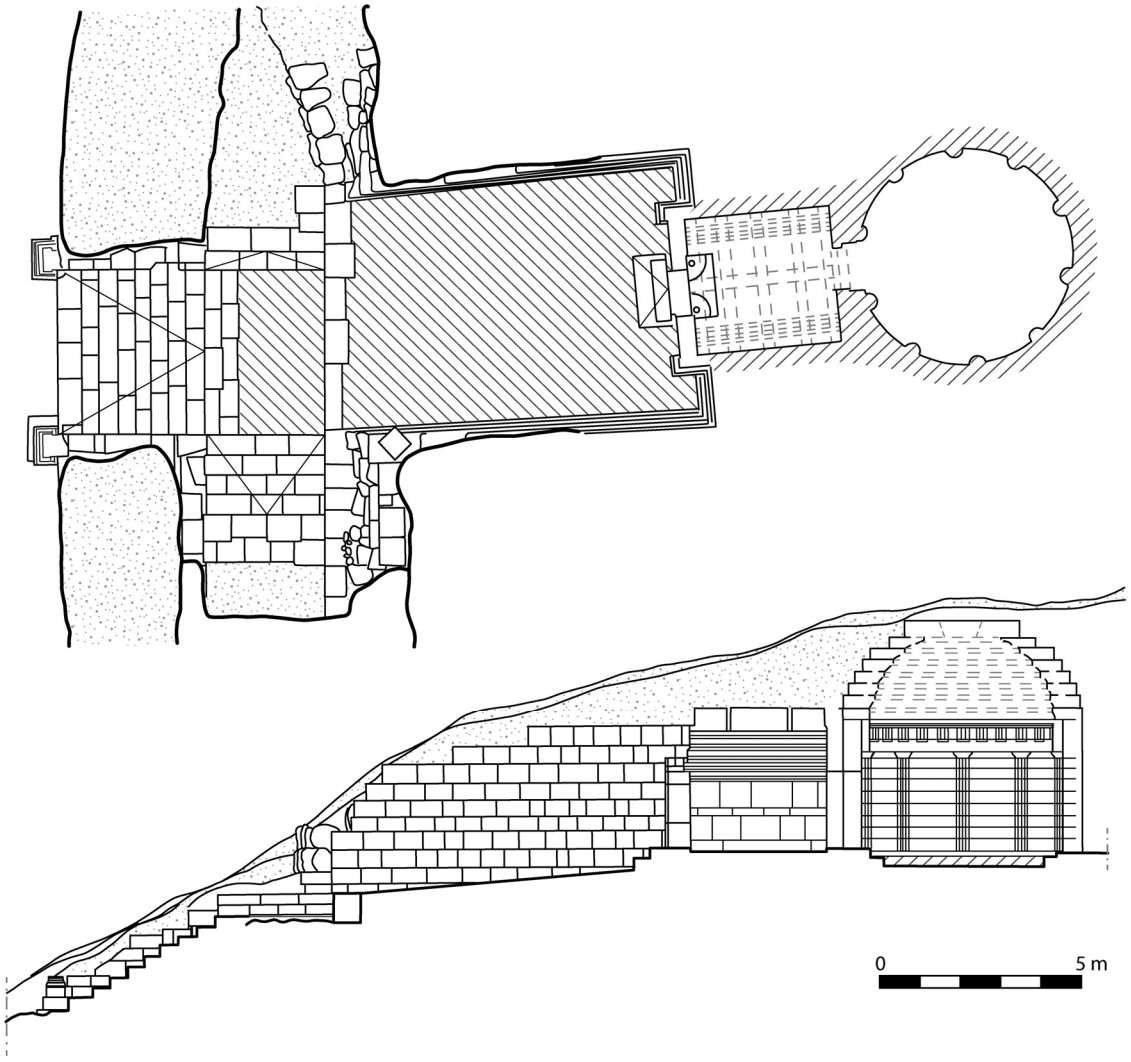

Figure 2.11. Starosel, Chetinyova mogila (Tzochev 2011a, 13 n. 3; Китов 2008b, 149)

[14] A geographically distant precursor might be the Nereid monument (c. 390–380 BC), which similarly appropriates forms of Greek architecture, in the tomb of a Lycian ruler.

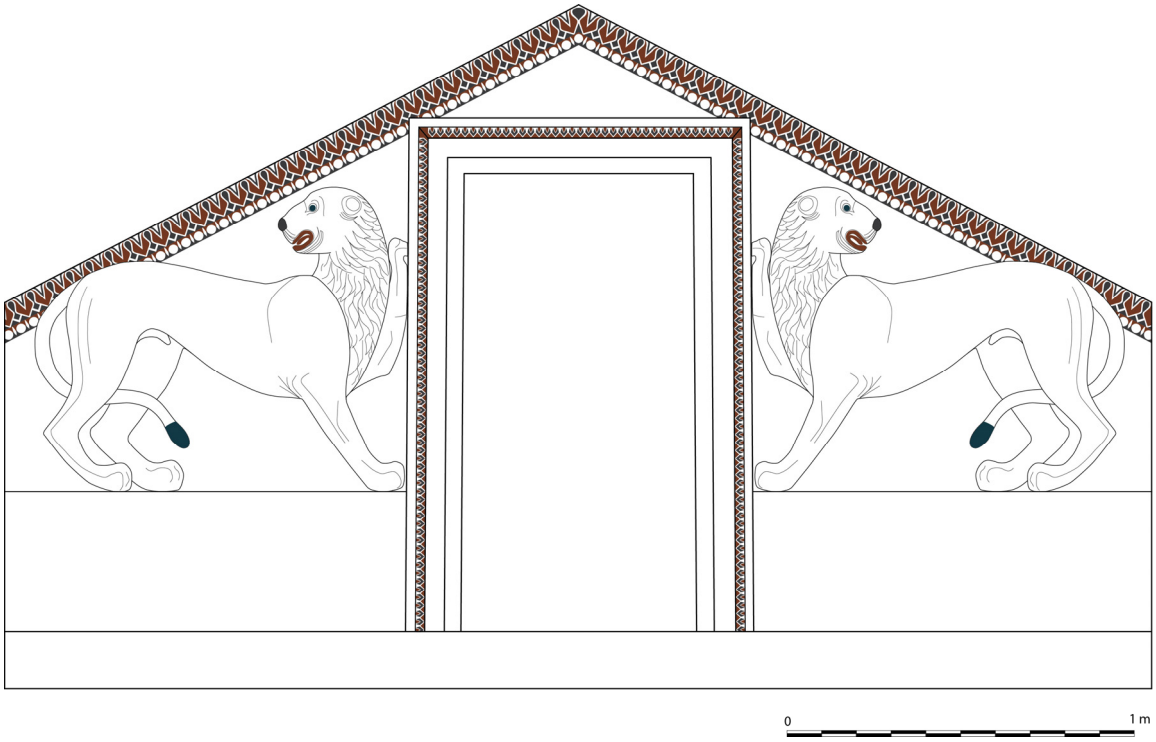

Figure 2.12. Zhaba Mogila: reconstructed façade (by Daniela Stoyanova and Chavdar Tzochev)

Other monuments display further creative adaptations of Anatolian art and architecture. The monolithic chamber of Ostrusha resembles Cyrus' tomb from Pasargadae, the Pyramid tomb from Sardis, and Buzbazar in different respects (Valeva 2005; Vassileva 2010, 37–8). The entrance of one tomb in Zhaba Mogila was flanked by feline reliefs (Figure 2.12.) in a similar style and arrangement as in buildings in Achaemenid-period Lycia and Daskyleion (Vassileva 2010, 39; cf. Metzger 1963; Karagöz 2007). A series of doors from Thracian tombs have close stylistic parallels in Ionia (Stoyanova 2007). Vassileva also charts a number of iconographic connections between the mural paintings in Alexandrovo tomb, the Çan Sarcophagus, and various other Persian depictions of armed riders and boar hunt scenes.

The interactions behind such artistic and architectural exchanges were manifold. Popular iconographic motifs like hunting scenes probably came from Persia to Thrace via depictions on portable media (Vassileva 2010). Given the sudden appearance of chamber tombs in Thrace, in rupture with existing architectural practices, the 'Greek' or Anatolian architectural elements in Thrace probably resulted from the movement of skilled masons, architects, and painters. At a secondary stage there probably was also technological transfer between them and local craftspeople. Working for Thracian patrons, these artisans adapted and re-purposed their work, and thus, for example, elements of Greek civic

architecture were appropriated for the aggrandising tombs of indigenous kings, as we saw at Chetinyova Mogila.

The ensuing question is *why* Thracian elites adopted foreign architectural and artistic elements. Stressing the creative nature of the process, Zosia Archibald (1998, 302) proposed that "Greek idioms were not adopted because they were Greek (or not exclusively so) but because they portrayed specific ideas effectively". While I agree with Archibald's general argument, it seems more helpful to switch away from a discourse of 'portrayal of ideas' to a discourse of materialisation. Tombs were effective materialisations of status which served the social needs of aggrandising elites.[15] On the one hand, they can be seen as a continuation of long-standing Thracian practices of using the grave as a scene for status competition. On the other hand, migrant foreign artisans contributed to synchronising elite fashions and status representation in Thrace and west Anatolia in the late 5th and 4th century (Vassileva 2010). By commissioning tombs with foreign elements, LIA Thracian elites joined in elite fashions from across the Achaemenid empire, Iron Age Anatolia, and later, Macedon. Thus, through the tombs they commissioned and used, LIA Thracian elites claimed membership and participated in a wider world of power.

The tomb examples place Thracian-Greek interactions in the wider "syncretism of the Greek, West Anatolian and Persian art … from Thrace to inner Lycia" (Mellink 1988, 221). One important insight deriving from the discussion is that to classify architectural elements as 'Greek' or 'Anatolian' is to misrepresent the hybrid nature of Graeco-Persian material culture, and to misunderstand how it fulfilled certain social needs (Vassileva 2010, 44). Thracian elites were borrowing from multiple foreign repertoires of material culture, including Greek, but they were not omnivorous consumers of just any foreign status-marker. Rather, by appropriating and remixing foreign art and architectural elements, Thracian elites constructed their idiosyncratic identity, and participated in a continually hybridising world.

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[15] Another, less certain possibility is that the Graeco-Persian visual repertoire provided Thracian elites and craftspeople with the visual vocabulary to depict myths and heroic acts such as hunting scenes. In a similar manner, Etruscan artisans had taken "a lexicon of scenes" from Greek figured pottery, and appropriated it to tell their own stories (Osborne 2001). Ascertaining whether this also applies to Thracian painting and metal-work, requires a larger iconographic study, beyond the scope of this thesis.

Finally, it is worth briefly noting a range of rare and less well-studied imports which were occasionally deposited in LIA graves and which probably had more exotic origin: Baltic amber beads and Phoenician(?) glass which I already mentioned; (perfume?) alabaster flasks (e.g. at Duvanlii); bronze mirrors, probably of Italic origin; and finally, textiles – a number of grave reports mention traces of purple-died and gold-woven cloth, with one chemically ascertained instance of shellfish die and possibly silk, coming from Zlatinitsa (see Appendix 1). The small numbers of these objects suggest they arrived here via sporadic down-the-line exchange, to be incorporated in the eclectic burial inventories of LIA elites.

2.3. Concluding discussion: opulent death-rites and social change

This review of burial practice in EIA and LIA Thrace shows much variability and a consistent trend towards increasingly elaborate elite graves. Imports were central to this process, and if we want to understand the role of Greek imports in Thracian burials, we need to disentangle the dynamics of continuity and change between the EIA and the LIA.

A number of mortuary traditions persisted over the EIA–LIA transition. Over the centuries many communities continued to bury their dead under tumuli and commemorate them with feasts. They used vessels whose traditional shapes and associated etiquette sometimes endured from the EIA into the LIA (e.g., cups with high-slung handles). Body treatment was and remained widely variable across Thrace, probably being a matter of local custom and individual preference.

A consistent trend towards social differentiation also bridges the EIA–LIA transition. From the 8th century, when we see a proliferation of adornments and imported fibulae, which individuals wore to mark their social status in death, their local identities, or to participate in wider networks of elite fashion. Social differentiation gained considerable momentum in the 5th century with the appearance of graves with unprecedented wealth. The fibulae and amber beads from rich EIA deposits pale in comparison with the abundant and spectacular imports from LIA graves, including gold, silver, bronze vessels, jewellery, and monumental tombs. LIA metallic vessels and chamber tombs are unambiguous statements of status and great discrepancies in wealth.

The sudden and dramatic appearance of rich graves begs explanation: what changed in the 5th century BC? This is when Greek auhors begin to mention various Thracian kings and

their involvement in events in the Aegean (Archibald 1998, 94–125). The common interpretation links these historical testimonies to the appearance of rich graves, and argues that rich graves mark the rise of the Odrysian Kingdom (Домарадски 1988, 85–6). Some scholars regard the Persian invasion as a catalyst to Thracian state formation (Taylor 2001, 398). One perspective proposes that local elites emulated an Achaemenid 'language of power' by adopting Persian objects and fashions. In an alternative, economic perspective, Persian military presence imposed certain economic demands on the north Aegean region, causing local economies in the southern Balkans to re-organise, and the newly established networks remained in operation until the Roman period (Archibald 2013c). While perfectly convincing, these views on Persian impact in the south Balkans do not articulate *why* rich burials appeared as a supposed expression of the rising Odrysian Kingdom.[16]

To understand the link between rich burials, foreign contacts, and state formation better, we can consider the burials as instances of conspicuous consumption, and we can address the contextual rationale for such behaviour in other societies. In Victorian Britain for instance the *nouveaux riches* used opulent burials – alongside other strategies of conspicuous consumption – to show their wealth, accumulated following the Industrial Revolution; hence they claimed high standing in a new, urban world (Parker-Pearson 1982). Across a number of other ethnographic and archaeological cases, ranging from Early Dynastic Egypt, Shang China, Mycenaean Greece, Late Hallstatt Europe, and Saxon England, the appearance of conspicuous burials often relates to dramatic social change; such change might involve migration or other kinds of contact "so that, for instance, trade introduces new sorts of wealth, new opportunities for acquiring wealth, and new classes (traders) who do not fit in at once into the kinship organization of a tribe" (Childe 1945, 17).

[16] For Mieczysław Domaradzki, it was a universal fact of human society that "rich burials were built at the point when public power was separated from, and opposed to the power of the people" (Домарадски 1988). Domaradzki sought to explain the appearance of rich burials through cross-cultural comparisons and from a Marxist perspective, like Parker-Pearson and Childe, but he drew on the east European tradition of Marxian archaeology. For Domaradzki, rich burials were a symptom of state formation, rather than a stage for re-negotiating of social relations.

Many of these factors were at work in 5th century Thrace, and might have contributed to the rise of rich graves. Evidently certain groups and individuals accrued large and concentrated amounts of wealth in the early 5th century, and this made displays of conspicuous consumption like the Duvanlii graves possible. One plausible explanation, is that local elites somehow benefitted from the Graeco-Persian wars by providing soldiers, other resources and alliance to either side. This proposition is impossible to prove archaeologically, but it finds indirect support in the chronology of the events: the generation buried at Duvanlii c. 475–450 BC were in power during the Graeco-Persian wars. Given that 4th century Odrysian rulers appear in the written sources as shrewd opportunistic politicians (Demosthenes 23.114; Diodoros 16.34.4), it seems convincing that 5th century Thracian elites similarly took advantage of the Graeco-Persian wars to accrue unprecedented riches.

Some of the spectacular objects from Duvanlii are likely to be diplomatic gifts or tribute. Thucydides (2.97.4) explains that in contrast to the Achaemenid practice of conspicuous generosity through gift-giving, late 5th-century Odrysian rulers had developed a formalised custom of exacting political gifts, bribes, and tribute: "without gifts there was nothing to be gotten done amongst them. So that this kingdom arrived thereby to great power" (trans. T. Hobbes). Thucydides estimated that in the time of Seuthes I "presents" of gold, silver, and textiles constituted a substantial share of Odrysian income, equal to the tribute of 400 talents per year. A later passage by Xenophon (7.3.16–20, 26–31), who visited Seuthes II c. 400 BC, conveys that such gifts included silver drinking cups, a horse, a boy, carpets, clothes for Seuthes' wife, etc. The size of the gifts corresponded to the political favours one would expect in return. Xenophon's commentary that a certain Timasion the Dardanian donated Seuthes a silver drinking cup acutely illustrates that foreign objects circulated among many hands of many origins. This model of exchange might explain why the collections of objects in LIA graves appear so eclectic. These episodes illuminate how valuable objects changed hands and mediated social and political relations in the 5th century, regardless of the origin of the objects or the gift-giver.

Ebbinghaus (1999) infers that emerging Odrysian rulers appropriated and inverted Achaemenid gift-exchange during Persian occupation in the early 5th century. In her view, the opposite emphasis on giving in Achaemenid practice, and receiving, in the Odrysian, derives from differences in political organisation: the Achaemenid Empire was a long-established hierarchical body, where the ruler generated political obligations and loyalty

by gifting wealth to those beneath him – effectively, this was a system of social credit. The Odrysian kingdom, by contrast, was an emergent and expanding monarchy in which different princes competed for personal power and the wealth that could buy them this power – effectively, a system of material debit.

Like gifting ceremonies and banquets, funerals too were events of conspicuous consumption and stages for the renegotiation of social order through the use and exchange of precious objects.[17] The influx of wealth into Thrace brought about a new social order, which we see negotiated and materialised in the Duvanlii cemetery. The group from Duvanlii adorned their bodies with gold, and used the ostentatious drinking sets to make social differences between various groups and individuals visible. These burials were political events, in which the wealth of the deceased was displayed among peers, perhaps competitively. Later elites of the 4th century developed further conspicuous statements of status by commissioning foreign architects, masons, painters, and sculptors to build them monumental tombs. These structures could be viewed by a wider audience and over a longer time.

In summary, Thracian elites used imported material culture and stylistic elements of the Greek and Achaemenid language of power to mark their status, articulate and perform relations of difference within their own communities and in a wider group of elite fashions. This use of imports is documented in both the EIA and the LIA, although in each period each class of imports circulated in chronologically and contextually-specific means of exchange (e.g., down-the-line trade, tribute, and gift-exchange, hired labour). Thracian elites were not omnivorous consumers of foreign luxuries. They only adopted imported objects and technologies which enabled certain practices and social projects of becoming by virtue of their material properties and the way in which their material possibilities were constituted in the relevant cultural context. For example, metal vessels were good gifts because the banquet was a suitable context for status display, and their mesmerising decoration and monetary value confirmed the social standing of the receiver. Once

[17] Value is always relative and culturally constructed, but we can be reasonably confident that for example, the 1344-gram Achaemenid-style silver amphora and other metal objects in Duvanlii were luxury items given their context and rarity. Moreover, some vessels state their weight and worth in drachms, as already mentioned (Manov 2006; Tzochev 2015a, 419).

received as a gift, a silver cup could be used in drinking parties, stored in a treasury, or it could be melted and struck into coins. This appreciation of the objects as active mediators in different kinds of relations, rather than markers of 'Greekness' or 'power' helps us to introduce nuance and move beyond the dichotomy of function and aesthetics. The luxuries in the Duvanlii graves were not mere status markers; they were the symbols *and* substance of power, to borrow Zosia Archibald's phrase.

3. Settlements

This section will explore settlements in Iron Age Thrace in order to gain a complementary perspective on social change and the place of 'Greek' material culture and technology in Thracian society. The settlement record of Iron Age Thrace is extremely fragmentary – intensive systematic field surveys were rare until recently – but over the past 15 years, intensive field-walking in several micro-regions has significantly enhanced our knowledge of settlement dynamics. Table 1 summarises the survey results for the Kazanlak Valley, an area south of Yambol (Sobotková 2012, 168–208), and the earlier survey in Strumeshnitsa valley in south-west Bulgaria (Domaradzki & Śliwa 1983). Combined, these micro-regional surveys give a good idea of the dynamics across southern Thrace, although they have their limitations.

		Legacy sites	Survey sites	Total	Trend	Comments
Kazanlak						
LBA		4			depopulation	
EIA	4	18	22		more dispersed	many sites <1 ha, single-phase 3 continue from LBA
LIA	21		30		"explosion"	11 continue from EIA
Yambol						
BA	19	5	24			
EIA	32	8	40		expansion and dispersal	Small frequent sites (1 site / 4 km^2); max 10 ha; no single centre
LIA		4(+4?)			depopulation (?)	Sites do not grow in size
Strumeshnitsa						
LBA		1	1		sparse occupation	
EIA		2	2		mild increase	
LIA		30	30		exponential increase	

Table 1. Settlement dynamics (LBA–LIA) in three intensively surveyed areas

The surveyed sites probably represent different types of settlements and sanctuaries, but it is often difficult to determine a site's function from a ceramic surface scatter. It seems reasonable to assume that traces of habitation are more numerous than traces of cult activity, hence I will interpret the survey results as indicative of settlement dynamics. I will supplement the survey data with details from excavated sites.

3.2. EIA

For centuries during the Early and Middle Bronze Age, communities in Thrace had made their home on densely occupied tells. In the LBA, towards the late 2nd millennium BC, most tells were abandoned; the dominant trend in the LBA–EIA, is towards de-nucleation and expansion across a new range of landscapes (Бориславов 1999).

Across the three intensively surveyed areas the number of sites and the total occupied area increased during the EIA, albeit to differing degrees. EIA settlements appear small – generally under 1 ha, a few reaching 10 ha around Yambol – and short-lived. Most dateable sites around Kazanlak showed thin stratigraphy and single-phase occupation (EIA1 or EIA2). Observations from other parts of Thrace corroborate the impression of dispersed, short-lived EIA settlement (for the Arda Valley – Τριαντάφυλλος 1987a, 27–8, 1987b, 987–97; Archibald 1998, 38; west Hebros – Кисьов 2004, 69). The small size and thin stratigraphy of EIA sites suggests temporary occupation in most cases. Unfortunately, the chronological resolution is too low to ascertain whether this picture corresponds to high settlement density at any point in the EIA or a landscape with multiple sites appearing and being abandoned, re-inhabited or revisited periodically.

3.2.1. Types of settlement & economy

The short-lived EIA sites found in surveys existed alongside a variety of settlements, including sites with more permanence, enduring over centuries. I will give a sense of their variety and consider its implications for the research questions.

Pshenichevo, which lends its name to stamped EIA2 pottery, remains one of the best-preserved examples of an unfortified settlement in the plain (Čičikova 1972). EIA dwellings had a rectangular single-room plan, wattle-and-daub walls, earthen floors and clay hearths. Semi-dugout buildings with a similar rectangular plan, rounded corners, and stakes joined by wattle-and-daub were found at Rassilitsa in the Rhodope and at Shumen,

north-east of the Balkan range (Спиридонов 1974; Фол & Спиридонов 1983, 130 map 1; Антонова & Попов 1984; Спиридонов 1992, 12, 1999, 39–40, 50).

Sites like Pshenichevo co-existed with other smaller halmets and camps, which are much harder to detect in the flatland, or have been virtually ploughed away. Some of these sites can be recognised in the 'pit fields' which populate the plains (Figure 2.18). Bulgarian archaeologists usually interpret these sites as 'pit sanctuaries', and I will treat the evidence for cult activity later (p. 112ff.). However, convincing arguments have been made that most 'pit sites' were in fact rural settlements whose architecture does not survive (Popov 2015, 120). They often lie near water sources and fertile agricultural land. Most pits contain fragmented daub and plaster, ashes, serving, cooking, and storage pots, animal bones with traces of food preparation (e.g. Kapitan Andreevo - Попов *et al.* 2007, 196). This is what one would expect to survive from a settlement with wattle-and-daub architecture subjected to continental weather and heavy ploughing.

Many pit sites and single-phase sites from surveys probably were camps or short-term settlements. Hence, the dominant model envisages a semi-sedentary EIA population, periodically moving and re-settling (Бориславов 1999, 10–1). The agricultural and economic practices associated with this lifestyle are still under-researched. The EIA material from tell sites might also reflect sporadic visits or temporary habitation. (e.g., Dyadovo, Yunatsite, Assenovets, Razkopanitsa, Drama-Merdzhumekya, Yassa Tepe). The EIA material often comes from disturbed strata or pits, and there are no identifiable structures, which makes it difficult to discern the nature of EIA activity – it probably varied across sites.

Sites with more permanence stand out against the general background of short-lived dispersed settlements. The faunal data from some pit sites like Simeonovgrad speaks for a settled population keeping animals (cattle, ovicaprids, pigs) and probably also taking advantage of the fertile agricultural land in which these sites are often found. These open settlements seem to have been dispersed, with plenty of room for yards and agricultural buildings near the dwellings (Popov 2015, 111). At Malenovo excavations found a pottery kiln (Божкова & Петрова 2011); a potter would not have such a structure built if they

were not staying long enough to use it.[18] At Ada Tepe in the East Rhodope, continuous occupation from the LBA to the EIA was associated with mining activities.

The example from Ada Tepe shows that the availability of a particular resource was one reason for nucleation and long-term occupation. Danger is another common explanation for the rise of more dense settlements – as in the case of the putative 'EIA hillforts'. Although we lack comprehensive quantitative data for population density and patterns of nucleation, and dating is difficult, Alexey Gotzev (1997) notes that after dispersion during EIA1 (11th–9th century), in EIA2 settlements clustered in mountain foothills and single-standing elevations in river valleys. Many sites with naturally defensive locations have been considered hillforts (e.g., Agios Georgios, Kom Peak, Malkoto Kale, Ovcharovo, Vishegrad). However, the only well-documented example of a fortified hilltop site is Kush Kaya, existing from EIA1, it expanded dramatically in EIA2 to occupy most of the plateau. Terracing and the building of a stone wall speak of a community committed to live in a dense nucleated settlement (Попов 2009).[19] In most other cases, stratigraphic evidence for dating the walls to the EIA is weak or absent.

The reverse mechanism might be at work on Thasos, where the indigenous population moved from highland Kastri to coastal locations with good harbours over the 8th century (Owen 2009, 90–4). Owen (2009, 95) places Thasos in a wider Aegean and central Mediterranean pattern, whereby a series of defensively-sited towns were abandoned over the 8th century in favour of sites with better connectivity in order to take advantage of increasing traffic (Osborne 2005, 11–13). For Owen, one driver of coastal nucleation on Thasos is the local elites' demand for foreign luxuries to articulate status distinctions, which we saw in the section on burials. A similar process of nucleation around rivers

[18] Tellingly, the pit fields appear in the Neolithic with the adoption of agriculture, a more sedentary lifestyle, and the ensuing need for storing surplus food.

[19] Hillforts seem to be common in Aegean Thrace, but there are no verified data for their existence in the interior (Венедиков *et al.* 1976; Domaradzki 1986, 97–100; Gotzev 1997, 414). The evidence for EIA hilltop fortifications is often stratigraphically unfounded: see for example Malkoto Kale (Chapter III), Vishegrad (Appendix 1. Kush Kaya, discussed here is an exception. Other sites like Semercheto, Chatalka, and Dragoyna have been variously identified as settlements or sanctuaries (Бориславов 1999, 83–6, 93–8; Нехризов 2005, 169–228).

might have happened in inner Thrace, where the earliest Greek ceramic imports cluster along the Hebros (Appendix 2), but contextual information about the findspots is scant (see p. 79).

Although the organisation of EIA settlements remains largely obscure, we have some evidence for specialised craft production. Judging by the concentration of tools in certain huts at Ovcharovo and Kush Kaya, making stamped pottery was a specialised activity, limited to one or several workshops in the community (Балабанян 1986, 17–20; Попов 2010a). Casting moulds testify to bronze-working at 9th–8th century Branitsa (Gotzev 1997, 409; Аладжов & Балабанян 1984, 187 fig. 4) and tell Merdzhumekya near Drama (Лихардус *et al.* 2001a, 10, 2001b, 18). Most impressively, the discoveries from Ada Tepe elicit the development of gold-mining from the LBA until the 8th century. These 'indigenous' technological traditions of ore-extraction and metal-working later fed into the economies north Aegean cities (Kostoglou 2008, 2010).

Some EIA settlements show signs of higher population density, which enabled specialised craft production. Different factors may have driven this process of nucleation, including the search for defensive location in troubled times, the availability of a key resource (e.g. gold mines), or possibilities for connectivity. Future work has yet to chart the micro-regional histories of settlement dynamics with better data resolution.

This brief review illustrates the diversity of settlements in EIA Thrace, which in turn corresponds to a variety of economic strategies. Some communities dwelled in the same place and exploited its mineral and agricultural resources for generations; others subsisted on transhumance, often with seasonal migration; a range of communities probably existed in between these options. One important implication is that the mobile or semi-mobile communities carried their lifeways, objects, and ideas, thus contributing to the general circulation of material culture and practices in EIA Thrace.

3.2.2. Imports, influence, migration

Turning to the imported objects and influences at EIA settlements, we face a scarcity of data, which has led most scholars to discuss EIA interactions between Thrace and the Aegean in vague and cautious terms such as 'contacts', 'influence', or indeed, 'interactions'. Using the framework from Chapter I, we can flesh out the nature of these 'contacts' by examining what kinds of practices underpin object diasporas and stylistic commonalities.

Starting with direct imports, Ivaylo Karadzhinov catalogued 44 fragments of Aegean pottery dated between c. 900 and 500 BC and found in inner Thrace (Караджинов 2010, 2012). Most of the fragments were small body sherds redeposited in later contexts, which made it difficult to ascertain their shape, date, and provenance. Where possible, Karadzhinov identified some jugs, amphorae, drinking cups, one possible *lekane*, a *krater*, and transport amphorae, stylistically attributed to east, north, and continental Greek workshops (see details in Appendix 2, Table 8). Most of the findspots were pit sites along the Hebros and Tonzos (Figure 2.13). Ceramic imports from EIA settlements appear to show a similar preference for drinking shapes and a similar distribution pattern appear as ceramic imports in LIA burials discussed above (pp. 80–83). We should note that the shape identifications for EIA imports are less certain, and the similar patterning we observe might result from the low resolution of the data at present. But in any case, the rivers evidently acted as key communication routes in both periods. The small number of sherds suggests for the EIA the vessels were sporadic down-the-line imports.

Stylistic commonalities between pottery from EIA Thrace and neighbouring regions point to other interactions which are more difficult to pin down. The Fluted/Knobbed ware of EIA1 (11th–9th century) has common shapes and style with pottery from the Danube basin and further north-west, whereas stamped Pshenichevo ware from EIA2 (8th–6th century) exhibits stronger Aegean connections (Bozhinova 2012, 54–61). Stamped and incised patterns on Thracian hand-made pots resemble the painted decorative schemes on Aegean pots (Nikov 2007). Scholars describe these commonalities as ‘a Geometric pottery *koine*’ which overlaps in conceptual baggage and territorial extent with the ‘fibula *koine*’, discussed earlier (pp. 72–75). As we established, the ‘geometric *koine*’ was a loose community, sharing practices of dress, technologies, and fashions across Thrace, the Aegean, and neighbouring regions. The patterns we find on pottery most probably spread via more portable media like metal, bone, and textiles (Ников 2002). Textiles seem the most likely candidate, given their ubiquity, their light weight, and extant depictions of geometric clothing decorations, mentioned earlier.

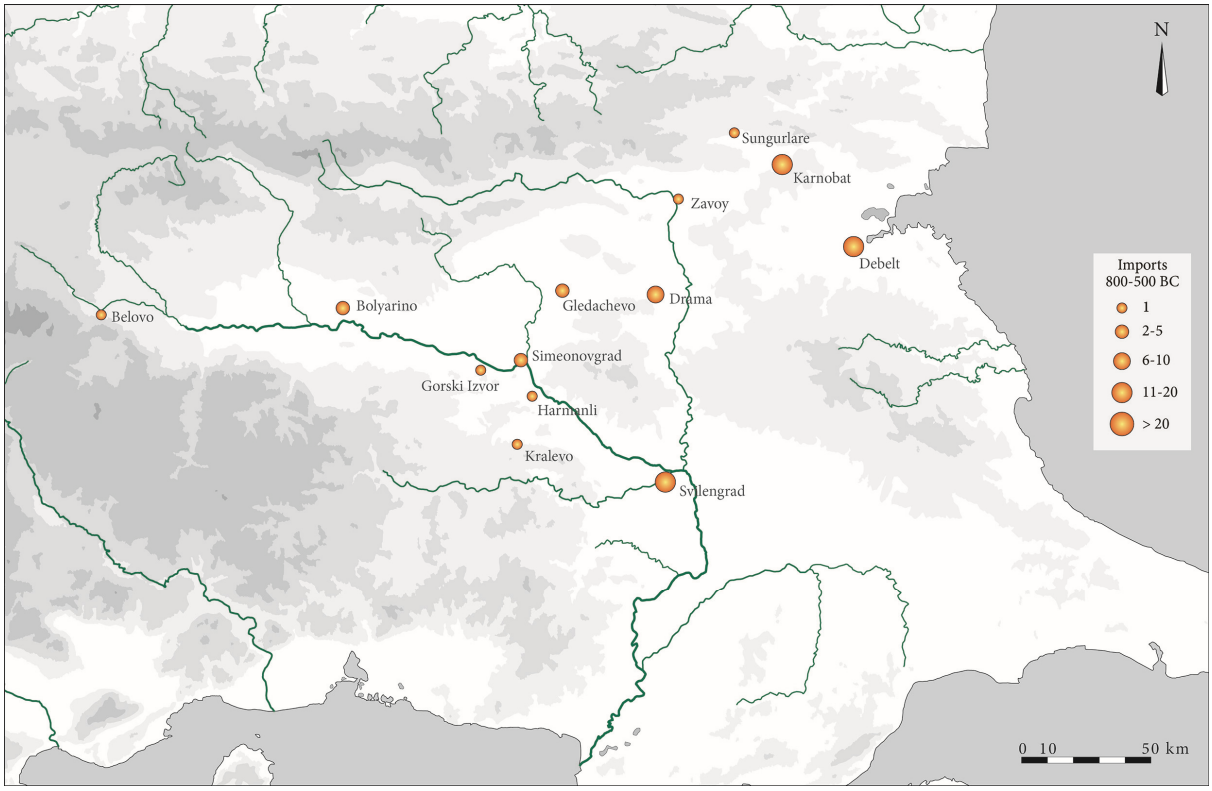


Figure 2.13. EIA pottery imports (data from Караджинов 2010)

One important and highly visible ceramic import is the technology of the potter's wheel, which was adopted in Thrace via several micro-regional contact zones. Around the 6th century, communities near the sea adopted the monochrome greyware pottery of Ionian/Aeolian cities on the Pontic and Aegean littoral, e.g. Ainos, Apollonia, Odessos (Nikov 1999, 38–40; I will examine Apollonia, the best-documented case, in Chapter III). Over the 6th and 5th century, greyware spread inland, replaced EIA stamped pottery, and became the dominant tableware of LIA Thrace.

Another tradition of wheel-made pottery, which certain Thracian potters in south-west Thrace adopted towards the end of the EIA, is the painted buff north-west Aegean 'Olynthos' ware, also termed sub-protogeometric, or matt painted pottery. Koprivlen, a settlement in the Rhodope Mountains, 100 km from the Aegean coast, produced a mix of stamped hand-made 'Thracian' wares and painted wheel-made pottery from the end of the 8th century (Bozkova & Delev 2002). A late 6th-century kiln with an in-situ load of wheel-made vessels ascertained their local production (Божкова 2006), and various idiosyncratic morphological traits suggest they were a local variant of the north-west Aegean 'Olynthos' ware (Bozkova 2002; Божкова & Делев 2011).

The adoption of the potter's wheel involves an extended period of learning, often over a decade, as the potter develops new motor skills for shaping vessels and new knowledge about selecting and processing raw materials and firing. Hence, the appearance of wheel-made pots at Koprivlen entails that either local potters moved and learned the craft in the Aegean littoral, or that southern potters came and taught locals. Additionally, the adoption of the wheel was possible because, as we saw, potting was already a specialised craft in EIA Thrace. Hence, the existing economic system and labour organisation could support a specialist potter.[20] The example of Koprivlen allows us to understand technological transfer as an alignment of economic organisation between Thracian and Aegean communities. Koprivlen also adds potters to the range of craft specialists we have already seen move across Thrace and Greece.

Foreign technologies like the potter's wheel were adopted in certain communities, when and where geographical proximity and economic organisation were aligned so that such technologies were available to local craftspeople, useful for their purposes and suitable for their way of living and working. For example, the potters from a mobile pastoralist community would have little interest in kiln-fired pottery which requires considerable investment in production facilities.

To summarise, Aegean imports in EIA settlements are scant, but we find widely spread evidence that communities in EIA Thrace shared fashions and technological know-how with neighbouring regions via down-the-line trade, migration, among other ways.

3.3. LIA

For the LIA, the survey data (Table 1) show dramatic increase in the number of sites in the Kazanlak and Strumeshnitsa valleys and stagnation or depopulation around Yambol. One reason for depopulation in the countryside might be the establishment of Kabyle, a major new city, in the 340s BC, which drew in surrounding settlements. For example, the EIA–

[20] Note however that across Thrace hand-made storage and cooking jars persisted alongside wheel-thrown vessels for centuries. A more extensive study of the shapes, contexts, and quantitative data can elicit the logic behind conservatism and innovation.

LIA site at Zavoy ceased to exist contemporaneously with the foundation of Kabyle (Бакърджиев 2010).

3.3.1. Types of settlement

The LIA settlement landscape remains populated with 'pit sites'; many even continued to exist in the same place from the EIA (e.g. Svilengrad, Yurta, Shihanov Bryag, Pet Mogili). The LIA also saw the emergence of cities which I will examine briefly.

Traditionally defined, a city is as a relatively large settlement with specialised craft production and market exchange, monumental public architecture, 'art', 'predictive sciences', writing, and a community based on citizenship rather than kinship (Childe 1950). Most archaeological settlements fall short of this checklist, which envisages modern or Classical cities as blueprints. More recent approaches to urbanism recognise the variability of ancient cities, and emphasise that a city is a place with centralised economic/political/religious functions in a regional network (Osborne 2005; Brun & Chaume 2013; Fernández-Götz & Krauße 2013; Wendling 2013). In Thrace we know little about regional settlement networks and site organisation, so the only workable approach to urbanism is to explore how certain settlements stand apart by the presence of featuresthat in other regions are part of the urban fabric.

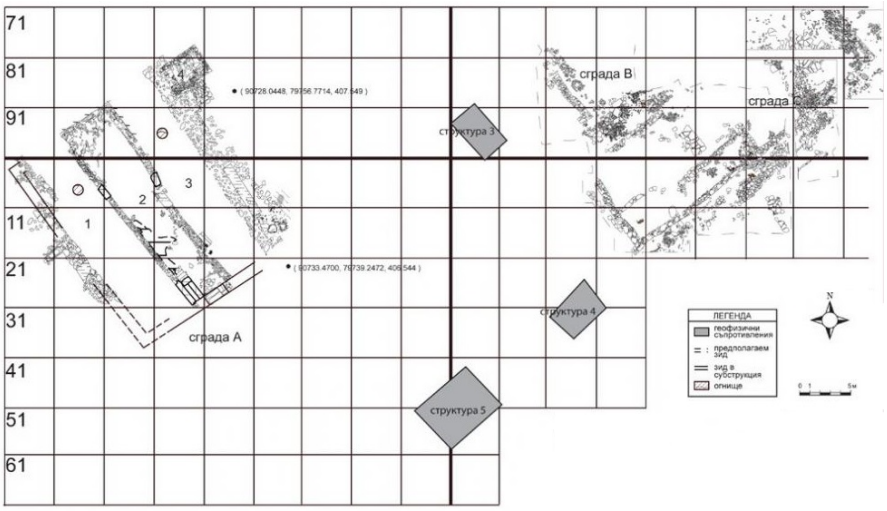


Figure 2.14. Krastevich, Pamuk Tepe (Fasti Online Database)

Between the late 6th and mid-4th century, several settlements in Thrace exhibit urban characteristics: Levski, Koprivlen, Krastevich, Pernik, and Vetren (Попов 2002; see Appendix 1). They stand out from other settlements in Thrace by the presence of more durable architecture (stone foundations, mudbrick walls, and tiled roofs, as opposed to

wattle-and-daub structures) and communal infrastructure (fortification walls at Levski and Vetren; cobbled streets and a grid-plan at Vetren and Krastevich). They also show evidence of craft production – e.g. metal-working at Krastevich (Маджаров & Танчева 2008, 217); pottery at Koprivlen (Божкова 2006); and weaving fine fabrics, especially at Koprivlen and Vetren (see p. 226 below; Dimova forthcoming). There are indications for the consumption of imports (a handful of published Attic potsherds from Levski and Krastevich, and 35 amphorae at Krastevich (Chavdar Tzochev pers. comm.)) and for participation in monetised exchange (several coins at Koprivlen; coins and a pot hoard in Krastevich (Archibald 2013c, 236)). However, the available data are very scant (cf. the number of coins, amphorae, and Attic pots at Vetren, Chapter IV). These sites appear as different experiments with urbanism –some were abandoned after 50–70 years (Krastevich, Levski), others lasted several centuries (Koprivlen, Vetren); some are fortified, others – not. However, for now we do not know if their apparent differences result from actual differences in settlement organisation or from preservation factors and the limited scale of excavations: 175 m^2 at Koprivlen, 1500 m^2 (0.15 ha) at Levski. Similarly, we do not know their sizes. Nonetheless, they do show the emergence of urbanism in inner Thrace from the late 6th century. We will explore this phenomenon more fully in Chapter IV, using Vetren as a case-study.

The Macedonian conquest in the 340s BC visibly transformed the settlement landscape in Thrace. Philip II established a number of towns in strategic locations (Diodoros 16.71.2). Archaeological finds ascertain the mid-4th century foundation of towns like Philippopolis, Beroe, Kabyle, and Alexandroupolis (Tzochev 2009, 64–8; Millett 2010, 492–3). Most of these cities lie under modern towns and their organisation remains archaeologically obscure, although epigraphic sources (*SEG* 42:661) inform us that Kabyle had an agora, a temple to goddess Phosphoros, and an altar of Apollo (Попов 2002, 111–22). The best-preserved example of a Hellenistic city is Seuthopolis (Dimitrov & Chichikova 1978; Димитров 1984a; Димитров & Пенчев 1984).

Seuthopolis was founded at the end of the 4th century as a planned city and destroyed by in the 270s BC by 'Celtic' raids (on the foundation and destruction dates, see Tzochev forthcoming). The remparts encompass a small area (5 ha), comprising blocks of houses, a public market square (agora), and a 'royal palace' cum temple in the north-west corner (Figure 2.16). An inscription (*SEG* 42:661) identifies the city as Seuthopolis, the capital of Seuthes III; it mentions the temple of the Great Gods, the agora, and the altar of Dionysos.

The finds comprise great amounts of pottery, bronze coins, *graffiti*, etc. According to the excavators, only a limited elite group lived within the small royal city.

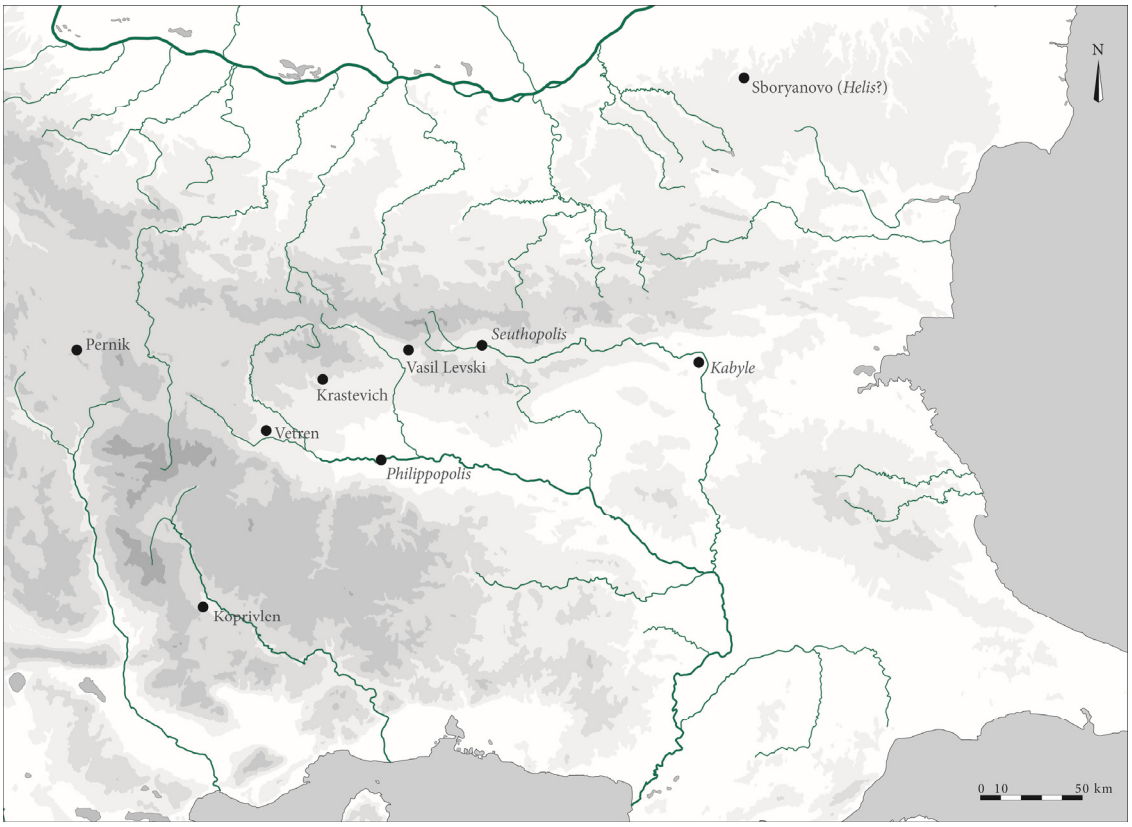


Figure 2.15**. LIA urban settlements discussed in the text**

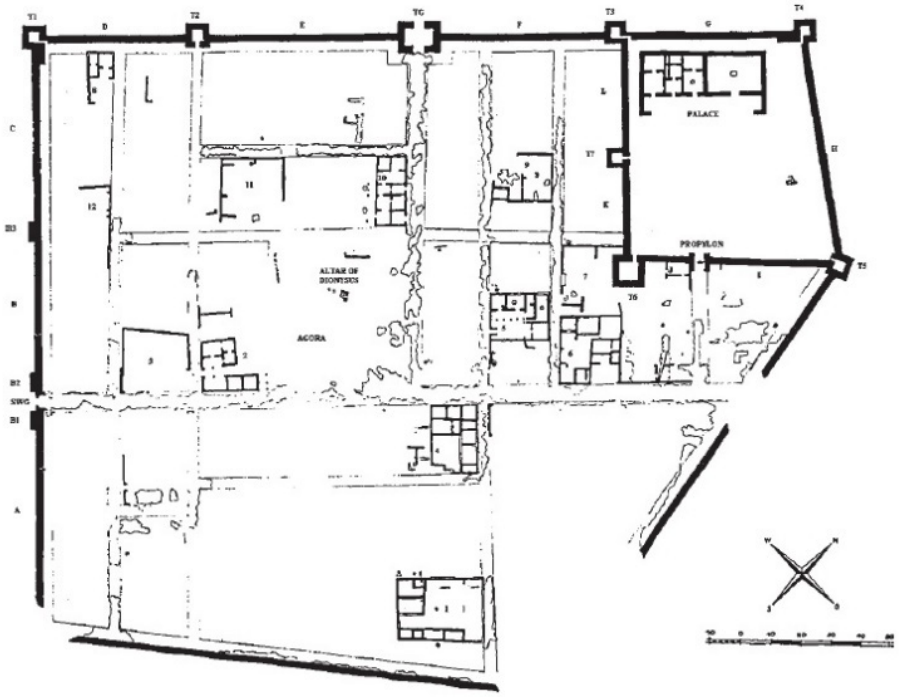


Figure 2.16. Seuthopolis (Dimitrov & Chichikova 1978 fig. 3)

The fortified rural estate is another new type of site that appeared after c. 350 BC. Such estates were positioned to control key routeways (e.g., Mandra Lake, Smilovene, Sinemorets), and a range of wild and agricultural resources (e.g., Kozi Gramadi, Halka Bunar, Knyazhevo (Tatar Masha) – see Appendix 1).

3.3.2. Imports, influence, migration

The preceding review lays out how limited is the extent of survey, excavation, and publication of settlements in Thrace compared to the burial record. Nonetheless, these limited studies elucidate the spread of imported objects in indigenous settlement contexts, which we examine below.

Pottery

Vassileva's review of published 5th century figured Attic pottery in Thrace recorded 31 vessels from 7 settlement sites – Koprivlen, Levski, Vetren, Seuthopolis, Stara Zagora, Malko Tranovo, and Stryama (Vassileva 2013, 139–41).[21] The preferred shapes include drinking cups, *lekythoi*, and *kraters* (see Table 9 and Figure A.6 in Appendix 2). Another survey of 5th and 4th century Attic black-glaze pots produced an even a thicker distribution map, with 33 inland sites (Bozkova 2010, 487 fig. 1). Again, the preferred shapes are drinking cups. Castullo cups, particularly popular between c. 475–425 BC, appear in quantity even at 'rural' pit sites like Malko Tranovo, where 40 sherds were found (Bozkova 2010, 89–90; cf. Shefton 1995; Божкова 2004).

The published data offer very low resolution, and probably present only a fraction of the excavated Attic imports. Even so, they clearly show that through the 5th and into the 4th century Attic pottery was consumed beyond the elite burial sphere. A wider circle of people had access to drinking cups, perfume bottles, and probably their corresponding contents. Probable towns like Krastevich, Koprivlen, Levski, and Vetren, appear as key loci of this consumption – an issue I will address in more depth in Chapter IV, using the data from Vetren. This pattern conforms to the model of consuming delicacies, discussed in Chapter I. The Thracian example demonstrates that Mediterranean-type exchange

[21] Duvanlii, Sladkite Kladentsi, and Malko Tranovo count as single sites. The *lekythos* from Seuthopolis predates the city (Reho 1990 No. 431).

networks and dynamics extended into parts of the continent where there was demand, and overland distance was not an insurmountable obstacle.

Unusual imports

While pottery might be more widely spread, among the finds from Krastevich we find several rare imports which call for individual attention. One is the ceramic bathtub (Figure 2.17). The excavator interpreted it as a cooling basin associated with the metal-working traces in Building A (Маджаров & Танчева 2008, 218). However, if a smithy needed a generic container, any large pot would do. By contrast, the bathtub – a peculiar special-purpose container – suggests that at least originally someone commissioned it to be made or brought in Krastevich for its intended purpose, bathing. This has intriguing remifications – bodily hygiene practices are an important part of the individual and societal construction of the self, and ideas about cleanliness and pollution often draw lines of cultural division. For example, for the Hungarian Roma the lower part of the body is polluting, and cannot be washed in the same water as the upper body; thus bathtubs are the antithesis of hygienic. This perception of cleanliness separates the Roma community from non-Roma people, who are perceived to be 'dirty' (Stewart 1997).

We know virtually nothing about hygiene concepts in ancient Thrace, but in Greek literature bathing was associated with 'a good life' and was part of the social code of hospitality: honourable guests are welcomed with a bath, anointment, and fine fresh clothes (*Odyssey* 1.5, 3.465). Hip-baths were archaeologically attested in private and public buildings at various sites contemporary with Krastevich – Olynthos, Athens (Yegül 1992), Morgantina (Crouch 1984 Pl. 46 fig. 2) and in earlier in the Aegean (Cook 1959). All examples I could find are similar in size to the Krastevich bathtub, but of a different shape: with a high rim on one end and a deeper basin at the other. The closest parallel for the shape from Krastevich, with a flat protruding rectangular lip, are the Lydian bathtub-shaped sarcophagi (Butler 1922 Ill. 177). The source of the shape is unclear, but it is certainly not local, and was probably made after Aegean or Anatolian models, and at least originally, served someone with 'foreign' concepts and habits of hygiene. The users of the bath followed a practice that set them apart from other people in 5th century Thrace, and this played into the construction of their identity along Aegean norms.

The bath at Krastevich is probably part of a larger terracotta-production at Krastevich – an abundance of roof-tiles and decorations were found at Sekiz Harman, 1 km away (see p.

114ff. below). Along with Koprivlen and Levski, this is among the earliest instances of roof-tile use in Thrace; it indicates the presence of coroplasty masters who learnt their skills in the Aegean, or (less likely) the long-distance import of tiles.

The humble loom-weights add to the mounting evidence for imported craft technology, and/or foreign presence at Krastevich. The loom-weights are pyramidal and conical. Pyramidal weights are ubiquitous, but conical loom-weights are exceptionally rare in Thrace and common in the north Aegean (Dimova forthcoming; see Appendix 6); for example, they constitute a majority at contemporary Olynthos (Wilson 1930; Robinson 1941). Since loom-weights traditionally move with weavers, the conical weights at Krastevich might indicate the migration of north Aegean textile workers, who were usually women.

Figure 2.17. Baths found at Krastevich and Olynthos

Finally, one lead weight, identical in shape with Athenian standard market weights, is another special-purpose object which probably came to Krastevich with competent users – merchants who knew how to use such commercial tools and operated under the corresponding measurement system. The coins from Krastevich further confirm that the site participated in networks of monetised exchange, but the evidence is too fragmentary to take the interpretation further, even if the excavator considers the site an *emporion*, following the interpretation of Vetren (see Chapter IV). In sum, many questions about Krastevich remain open, but there is mounting evidence for imported Aegean objects and technologies on site, which in turn indicate the movements of Aegean-trained craftspeople (weavers, coroplasts, builders), merchants, and others who brought their skills and their ideas and contributed to the making of new types of communities in LIA Thrace.

Mudbrick and roof-tiles

Mudbrick architecture is one rather humble technological import, taken up in Thrace only in the mid-5th century, after a millennial history in the Aegean and the Near East. Mudbrick was used to build fortifications and houses at several 5th and 4th century settlements like Vetren, Levski, Krastevich, Pernik, and Duvanlii, Hellenistic Seuthopolis and Kabyle as well as some tombs – Ruzhitsa and Filipovo (Стоянова & Попов 2008). Stoyanova and Popov note that mudbrick architecture is usually concommitant with ceramic roof-tiles – another technological import. The combination of mudbrick and tiles is not surprising – mudbrick endures only with good water protection. In Balkan prehistory, mudbrick has been confined to regions with less than 600 mm annual rainfall (Rosenstock 2006, 120 fig. 4). In the Hebros valley, where precipitation averages 500–600 mm per annum, settlements from the Neolithic into the EIA were built using wattle-and-daub, timber, or other combinations of mud and timber. The introduction of roof-tiles in the LIA enabled people in Thrace to build with mudbrick.

According to Stoyanova and Popov, mudbricks spread in Thrace through foreign 'contacts' and the presence of a Greek population in urban centres like Levski, Krastevich, Vetren and Seuthopolis. The main advantage of mudbrick is that making the bricks requires little time and skill. Ethnographic examples show that a novice worker can learn the craft quickly, and produce up to 3000 bricks per day (Dietler 2010, 273). Roof-tiles by contrast require more equipment and specialist knowledge of clay recipes and pyrotechnology. The adoption of rooftiles in Thrace therefore involved one or two types of interaction: trade and/or itinerant craftspeople, initially trained in the Aegean. Both scenarios have been documented: in Etruria itinerant coroplasts moved to work on commissions, collaborating with local kilns (Nijboer 1997, 384–5); roof-tile trade is more common when water transport is available, but could be practised overland too (Stoyanova 2011).

There can be many reasons why indigenous societies adopted mudbrick and rooftiles from their Greek neighbours. Decreasing supplies of timber might have been one factor in southern France (Dietler 2010, 271). In Etruria terracotta decorations and colourful tiles were used to adorn temples, and the rectilinear nature of mudbrick architecture facilitated the building of increasingly dense grid-planned settlements, with a corresponding urban aesthetic. In Hallstatt settlements like Heuneburg c. 600 BC, mudbricks served to erect substantial fortifications and buildings with complex plans (Fernández-Götz & Krauße

2013). It seems that Thracian communities adopted mudbrick for similar projects. Mudbrick allowed the building of larger and more secure structures than wattle-and-daub (e.g., in Krastevich), and crucially, fortification walls (Vetren, Levski, Pernik). Given the accumulation of wealth which we saw in the burial record of 5th century Thrace, the desire to fortify settlements and secure houses is understandable. Moreover, in a land of wattle-and-daub architecture and thatched roofs, the few early buildings covered with glistening terracotta tiles would have been striking, perhaps even monumental. They would have conveyed the different function of the building or the status of its occupants.[22]

Mudbrick architecture and roof-tiles were imported in different ways, but the two combined to fulfil social projects. They add to the list of other imported techniques, previously unknown in Thrace (e.g., *'emplekton'* fortifications at Levski and Vetren, multi-storeyed buildings and cobbled streets at Krastevich). These architectural imports were instrumental in materialising social status and entrenching differences in wealth (by safeguarding this wealth behind strong walls) in 5th century Thracian communities. Subtly and gradually imported architectural technologies began to change the shape of Thracian settlements: endowing them with more permanence and resistance against the elements; giving streets and houses a more 'urban' and perhaps 'Mediterranean' look and feel; adding more material forms that required specialised labour. Through this transformation, we should remember, early urban centres appear different, and used architectural imports selectively (e.g., some had fortifications, others did not), suggesting that the 5th century was a time of experimentation with early urban forms.

The Hellenistic urban blueprint?

Moving to Hellenistic Seuthopolis, we see the adoption of 'Greek' urbanism on a much more comprehensive scale, involving a top-down orchestration of religious and economic life, public and private space. The planned rectilinear urban grid, the preserved house plans look remarkably Aegean, and have been interpreted as an imported model of urban life. The fortification system reveals Greek engineering and masonry, following the most recent

[22] Tiled buildings might be seen as the modest versions of imported stone architecture – as seen at tombs around Starosel (p. 24ff. above) or at Kozi Gramadi where stone decorations have close Athenian parallels, again, indicating the work of foreign masons (Hristov & Stoyanova 2011, 93–5).

defence technologies in the Macedonian empire (Nankov 2008). The widespread use of Greek language and writing (Nankov 2012) and the abundance of 'Greek' eating and drinking shapes – fish plates, jugs, drinking cups, amphorae, etc. (Чичикова 1984) consolidate the impression that Seuthopolis was "a highly Hellenized Thracian city" (Nankov 2008, 16).

Unlike its predecessors in Thrace, Seuthopolis is no experiment with urbanism; it is a wholescale transplantation of a blueprint city, attuned to the latest fashions, but reproduced at a puzzlingly small scale – 5 ha, the equivalent of 7 football fields. The most convincing explanation for why a place like Seuthopolis was planned and created is that Seuthes III had his capital city built after models from the Macedonian Empire and Greece, but according to his local possibilities. Seuthes emerged as an independent ruller in the early 320s (Curtius Rufus 10.1.43–45), probably as a descendent of the Odrysian dynasty subjected by the Macedonians in the late 340s. Seuthes fought Lysimachos twice, neither side decisively succumbing to the other (Diodoros 18.14.2–4, 19.73.1–10). While competing with Lysimachos in battle, Seuthes and Thracian elites also competed for their status as power-players on a symbolic field: we saw that in the burial tombs of the Thracian aristocracy, and we see it in Seuthopolis. The city was a materialisation of Seuthes' power; through building a city in his name, Seuthes became en par with Macedonian dynasts, his court lived, spoke, dressed, and became part of the political elite of the day, within the language of power forged by the Macedonian Empire. The forms of this language were Greek, but they were open to manipulation, interpretation, and appropriation by various Hellenistic monarchs, including Seuthes.

3.4. Concluding discussion: mobility, urbanism, and foreign contacts

The foregoing review reveals that EIA and LIA Thracian communities lived in a diverse range of settlements, and followed a variety of economic strategies. Although the picture is highly variable and still fragmentary, we can see two sustained chronological trends. One such trend is the constant background of human mobility in different forms over the EIA and LIA: the seasonal movement of transhumant groups; the circulation of objects, fashions, and patterns in pottery, textiles, and other media across interlocked networks of exchange; in the LIA, the movement of skilled craftspeople from the Aegean into Thrace, and from Thrace towards the Aegean. In their subtle, localised, yet persistent nature these overland movements might be compared to "the Brownian motion" of Mediterranean

cabboteurs (Horden & Purcell 2000, 143). Their short-distance movements rigged networks and sustained them over time, producing widely-shared sets of fashions, practices, and ideas. It is against this background of mobility and connectivity that from the 7th century various Greek-speaking communities began to found new settlements in the north Aegean and around the Black Sea. I will examine their interactions with inland networks in Chapter III.

The other, related trend over the course of the millennium is a gradual shift from predominantly short-lived, dispersed settlements and a semi-mobile lifestyle in the EIA towards settlements with increasing permanence in the LIA. Along this continuum there are several moments of more abrupt and wide-reaching transformation. One is the emergence of urban or proto-urban centres in the 5th century (Levski, Krastevich, Vetren, and Koprivlen – building on an existing EIA settlement). The emergence of these towns in variable forms and their endurance (Vetren, Koprivlen) or abandonment after a few decades (Levski, Krastevich) suggest that they were experiments with new material forms, social, and economic relations. Their histories suggest they arose in the quickly shifting political and economic landscape in Thrace around the late 6th – early 5th century, which we saw in the preceding section. At a very material level, the emergence of these towns involved a series of imported technologies, the most archaeologically detectable being in craft production and architecture (mudbricks, roof-tiles, fortifications, wheel-made pottery).

The foregoing evidence supports Archibald's assessment that the Thracians adopted Greek language and technologies (coinage) not because they were Greek, but because they were useful (Archibald 1998, 316), and allows us to elaborate further on this subject. Architectural and craft technologies also were adopted in contexts where they could resolve practical problems and serve to fulfil projects of social distinction. Roof-tiles and mudbricks for example provided stable shelter from the elements and distinguished one house from the rest of the community.

The mechanism for adopting such techniques and practices in Thrace involved the residence of foreign-trained artisans – itinerant coroplasts, builders, potters. As for the effects of these technological imports, they entailed a shift in the organisation of labour so that people with more specialised skills could rely on others for their subsistence. By adopting these technologies and practices, Thracian communities gradually transformed their material environment, social, and economic organisation. They also used architecture

and craft technologies to develop relations of difference within their communities along lines of wealth and skill: craft specialisation became an entrenched and interlocked economic setup; fortification walls safeguarded, embodied, and consolidated differences in wealth between town and country, and between different houses. Thus, the adoption of new building and craft technologies produced and consolidated new forms of certain economic and social relations.

By adopting new ways of making and living in the world, LIA people in Thrace also drew a line of difference between the old ways and the new ways – for example, by abandoning the EIA repertoire of hand-made table vessels, and adopting new shapes of greyware pottery. It is important to underline the piecemeal and fragmentary nature of these transformations: certain individuals and communities were selecting and adapting various new elements of practice while many others continued to make their houses and live in the way they had for a long time. The introduction of wheel-made pottery alone did not trigger a wholescale transformation, but added to a series of other factors, eventually, it formed part of wider economic changes.

The other point of abrupt change was the Macedonian conquest in the mid-4th century, which introduced a different blueprint of a 'Greek' city, later reproduced by indigenous initiative at Hellenistic Seuthopolis. The factors for this introduction were largely political – the imposition of imperial economic and political control (e.g., Kabyle), or Seuthes' desire to compete and participate alongside the powers of the day. In this case the import of 'Greek' urban form also served indigenous social and political projects. However, at this point, the Macedonian Empire had re-formulated the 'Greek' urban form to mean something very different than the experiments with mudbrick and roof-tile we saw in the 5th century.

The settlement data answer some questions and open others. One emerging question is, what was the relationship between Greek-speaking coastal settlements and communities in the hinterland, and what was the role (if any) of these settlements in local developments? These issues are best understood on a case-by-case basis, and since Greek-indigenous relations have been investigated on the Aegean coast (Owen 2000b, 2006, 2009; Ilieva 2005, 2007, 2011), I will study the relationship between Apollonia Pontica and its hinterland. The other key question pertains to inner Thrace: what was the connection between urbanisation and increasing interactions with the Aegean? As examples of early towns Levski and Krastevich only hint at the processes of interaction happening in inner

Thrace such as migration, technological skill exchange, intensifying trade, etc. However, Krastevich and Levski are too poorly known to address these questions adequately. This is why we must turn to the evidence of better studied sites like Vetren, which I will examine in Chapter IV.

4. Religion

Cult and religion often play a crucial role in cultural encounters. In different political contexts in the ancient Mediterranean sacred sites have been arenas where distinctive identities were performed and materialised (e.g., the Parthenon), or middle-grounds where people of different beliefs converged and cults were hybridised or shared (e.g., Gravisca, Pyrgi, Samothrace).

Religion might have also played an important role in Thracian-Greek interactions. However, several factors cloud our understanding of Thracian cults and their relations to Greece. Many arguments are rooted in speculative interpretation of linguistic or archaeological evidence; the Greek texts, on which most claims rest, have various political and philosophical agendas (Archibald 1999, 127–35). Due to uncritical reading, cults, perhaps more than other spheres, have been used to construct a primitive image of Thrace. For example – Archibald (1999, 432) noted – the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* alleged that Thracian religion was "crude and barbaric before Greek influence transformed it. There is evidence of primitive animal worship, human sacrifice, magical ceremonies, orgiastic rites" (Fontenrose 1970, 917). The Thracological reaction to this Orientalising discourse partly absorbed its bias by accepting that Thrace was the homeland of ecstatic Dionysiac and Orphic cults (Chapter I, p. 44).[23] Another complication is the use of Greek terms to describe Thracian cult sites and deities before fully apprehending what activities occurred.

Finally, the archaeology of religion is always challenging and this is especially true of Thrace. We know that a variety of beliefs and practices existed across the region (Herodotos 4.94; 5.6), but it is difficult to understand what these practices involved, and

[23] The putative Thracian origin of Dionysos has now been superseded by evidence that his cult in the Aegean goes back to the Bronze Age (Archibald 1999, 432 with references). Dionysos was probably retrospectively ascribed to the Thracians, because he was 'Other' to the order of the *polis* (Condurachi 1980, 121).

how they related to beliefs, working from the archaeological record. There are no strict criteria for the identification of cult sites. Sanctuaries often have no surviving architecture and stratigraphic contexts due to their location on rocky outcrops (Гоцев 2008, 198–204, 219–33). Nevertheless, a range of religious practices and sanctuaries have been recognised in Thrace.

This section will not follow the chronological structure of preceding two sections because cult sites in Thrace were frequently used for many centuries, and it is difficult to discern activities from the EIA or LIA. Hence, I will consider the range of sacred sites, the commonalities, differences, and mutual borrowings between Thrace and Greece in the religious sphere.

4.1. Ancestor cults

Burial sites are a long-standing locus of cult in Thrace. Various pits, deposits, and poorly preserved buildings can be associated with cemeteries (Domaradzki 1994, 71–4). As we saw earlier, funerary and post-funerary practices in the EIA and LIA often involved feasting (e.g., Zabernovo, Kirovo, Ostrusha, Zlatinitsa – see Appendix 1). At Buzovgrad, even an altar was set up in front of the tomb, and it was re-made over time (Нехризов 2013). Some LIA tombs also show long periods of use (e.g., worn doorsteps, multiple construction phases), suggesting that they served as *heroons* before the final burial and closure (Гетов 1991, 42). These practices can be broadly associated with ancestor/hero cults of the wider east Mediterranean (cf. Antonaccio 1994).

4.2. Peak and rock sanctuaries

A range of sites on uninhabitable mountain peaks and ridges, hilltops in the plain, and around prominent rocks have been considered sanctuaries because of their uninhabitable location. Two of the best-preserved examples are Levunovo, a 245 m hilltop in the Strymon valley (Domaradzki 1994, 77–80 fig. 1, 9), and Babyak at 1653 m in the Rhodope Mountains (Тонкова & Гоцев 2008). Over their long history of use (EIA to the Roman period, and LBA to the Hellenistic period respectively) various pits, wooden shelters, rubble stone enclosures, rock-cut steps, stone and clay altars/platforms were added, maintained, and modified. Many objects found at these sites – pots, craft and agriculture tools, weaponry, and adornments – are interpreted as votive deposits. These are

accompanied by the deposition of animal bones that come from sacrificial and/or feasting activities.

In the broadest terms they are similar to votive deposits at Greek sanctuaries, but we know too little about how time, space, and activity were structured at these sites. Because the sanctuaries usually cannot be associated with settlements, they are considered focal points for multiple communities (Domaradzki 1986, 1994). Some highland sanctuaries positioned on ridges with high visibility might have served as landmarks or route-marks, especially in the Rhodope (Гоцев 2008, 224–6).

4.3. Pit fields

Major road and rail construction projects in recent years revealed dozens of sites in the plain, which appear to be mostly composed of pits. Bulgarian archaeologists interpret these sites as 'pit sanctuaries' by extending earlier argument by Rumyana Georgieva (Георгиева 1991) that not all pits associated with burial mounds are rubbish dumps, but some are explained more convincingly as the result of more meaningful deposition. Georgieva's idea was applied widely, and Bulgarian scholars have now identified hundreds of 'pit sanctuaries' dating from the Neolithic to the Medieval period, but mostly from the 1st millennium BC (Figure 2.18).

Pit sites appear across a range of landscapes, urban and extra-urban settings, and in some cases were superseded by the erection of burial mounds (e.g., Kralevo, Duvanlii). One of the largest sites, Malko Tranovo comprises over 550 pits dug through the EIA and LIA, in an area over 2.9 ha – and this was only the rescue excavation area; the actual extent of the site at any point in time is unknown (Hawthorne 2009, 53). Structures and altars existed alongside the pits, but they seldom survive (cf. Chirakman – Tonkova 2003, 479, Gledachevo – Тонкова & Георгиева 2006, 164).

These deposits can often be interpreted in different ways. I argued earlier that the position of the sites near fertile land and water sources, and the frequency of household equipment, daub and ashes suggest that many pits were part of eroded settlements. Admittedly however, animal bones might result from ceremonial feasting or ordinary meals, and mundane objects like loom-weights might be votive deposits. While I maintain that settlements debris is more frequent than cult deposits, the pits remain open to interpretation.

Figure 2.18. Iron Age 'pit sites' (redrawn after Nehrizov & Tzvetkova 2012, 201 fig. 1)

Certain elements in the pits testify to cult activity less ambiguously, notably the presence of fragmented clay altars, figurines, and sacrifices. At one of the best-documented sites near Svilengrad, 16 of 186 pits contained whole animal skeletons of dogs, pigs, a sheep and a hare (Nehrizov & Tzvetkova 2012). At Hellenistic Kralevo in north-east Bulgaria, the faunal assemblage was dominated by cattle and pigs (Гинев 2000, 37–41, 58–83).

Some pits also contained human remains. A couple of cases where the person appears to have met violent death (e.g., Pit 9 at Gledachevo), have been interpreted as human sacrifice – also reported in written sources (Тонкова 2005; Tonkova 2010), but other explanations of homicide are also possible. Usually however, the human remains in pits are disarticulated bones and dismembered body parts resulting from post-mortuary manipulations (e.g. Malko Tranovo – see Appendix 1; Hawthorne 2009, 74–84, 210–12). Moreover, human remains are very rare: 22 individuals were identified in the 186 pits at Svilengrad. Nine were premature or newborn infants, and all six that could be sexed were

male, suggesting that there were certain rules for treating different bodies (male/female, old/young, etc.).

Among the pit deposits we also find fragments of Greek pottery – mostly drinking cups, bowls, and liquid containers, often deposited in later contexts (Appendix 2, Table 8; Караджинов 2010, 2012). They appear to fit in the general context of consumption, alongside local wares. The small numbers and scattered distrubution of Geometric and Archaic vessels suggest they arrived through sporadic indirect exchange.

Scholars have compared activities around the pits to Greek *bothroi* and associated sacrifices. For example, the deposition of suckling pigs, dogs, and figurines at Svilengrad has been compared to Greek festivals honouring Demeter and Kore (Nehrizov & Tzvetkova 2012, 192). At other sites the frequent occurrence of loom-weights and spindle-whorls has been associated with Kybele (Tonkova 2003, 483) and other unidentified female/fertility cults (Archibald 1999, 448; Vulcheva 2002a, 123). While general commonalities exist, we have yet to elicit the rhythm and rules of sacrifice in different Thracian communities and the activities that preceded deposition, before we can unlock the information that pit sites can bring regarding religion, consumption, community, and ideas of the human body in Thrace. The main issue remains that the pits and their fill may result from different feasts, sacrifices, and depositions, and we often cannot distinguish whether they were 'sacred' or 'secular' using the archaeological data.

4.4. Urban cults and temples

A 4th-century structure on Sekiz Harman hill near Krastevich (Figure 2.19; see Appendix 1) has been interpreted as a Greek temple (Маджаров & Танчева 2014). The building appears to have been large (over 25 x 30 m) and impressive, with a colonnade, Ionian capitals, terracotta decorations, and stands for marble *louteria* (stone basins). In the Aegean this kind of architecture is associated with cult activity and Sekiz Harman stands just 1 km away from the settlement at Krastevich, discussed earlier, where an Aegean enclave might have existed (see p. 100ff. above). However, in Thrace similar elements like colonnades, are found in contemporary tombs (e.g., Strelcha, Starosel). The current state of publication leaves many open questions about why the building at Sekiz Harman was erected, how it was used, and how it relates to the nearby settlement.

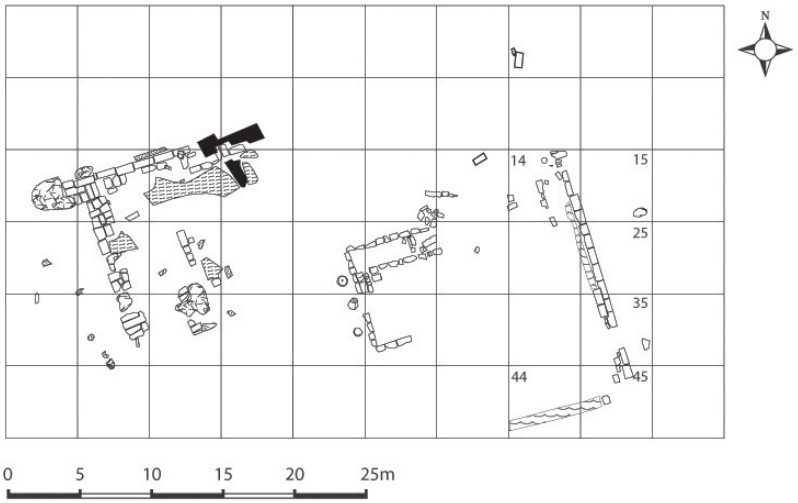


Figure 2.19. Krastevich, Sekiz Harman (Маджаров *et al*. 2013, 129 fig. 1)

Epigraphic sources from the early Hellenistic period give clearer evidence about the existence of altars, temples, and statues, dedicated to deities with Greek names.[24] In a text from Batkun (*IGBulg* III.1 1114) the citizens of an unknown community dedicated a statue of Apollo and committed to crown it at every religious festival (*panegyris*). The Seuthopolis inscription (*SEG* 42:661) locates the temple of the Great Gods (Kabeiroi), mentions the temple of Dionysos in the Seuthopolitan *agora*, the *Phosphorion* (temple of Artemis(?) Phosphoros) and the altar of Apollo in Kabyle.

Of these, only the temple of the Great Gods has been identified archaeologically, within the 'royal palace/sacral complex' in Seuthopolis (Figure 2.16). Its plan has been compared to the sanctuary of Herakles on Thasos (Димитров 1957), specifically in its Archaic phase, and the Hieron of Samothrace (Archibald 1999, 442–4). At Seuthopolis, Archibald notes, and in the other two temples, activities were concentrated around central indoor altars/hearths, rather than outside – as in conventional Greek Olympian temples. Hence, the temples in Seuthopolis, Thasos, and Samothrace might be adaptations of sacred Greek architecture to 'Thracian' cult practices. The presence of a large local-style altar in Seuthopolis particularly underscores the hybrid nature of the monument. Further interpretation however, must await full publication of the finds.

[24] A rare pre-Hellenistic mention of Greek deities appears in the mid-4th-century Pistiros inscription, whereby a local ruler swears an oath in Dionysos' name (*SEG* 49:911, see Chapter IV).

4.5. Altars (escharae)

Let us finally consider a characteristic type of clay altars (Figure 2.20). One of the few recognisable features of Thracian cult, these altars appear across the range of sanctuaries discussed above and they allow us to address the tension between variability and commonality in Thracian cult practices.

Square altars with geometric decoration are found across the eastern Balkans (Figure 2.21) at urban and rural sites, in temples (Seuthopolis), houses (Seuthopolis, Kabyle, Sboryanovo), pit sites (Svilengrad), mountain sanctuaries (Dolno Dryanovo), in front of and inside tombs (Buzovgrad, Sboryanovo). They show certain regional peculiarities, e.g. altars at Seuthopolis had a concave 'umbo' (Чичикова 1975, 182), while those at Sboryanovo had a convex central boss (Archibald 1999, 445), and colour painting (Гергова 2008, 2014; 2013). At Dolno Dryanovo, the altar decoration resembles the geometric patterns on the local Tsepina type pottery (Байраков 2013, 77–80).

The altars also served different practices. While most altars are smaller than 1 m^2, presupposing a limited number of participants in the rites (perhaps a family circle?), the larger altars at Kralevo (1.90 x 1.80 m; see Гинев 2000, 58–66) and in the temple at Seuthopolis (3 x 3 m; see Пировска 2007, 24 fig. 5) could accommodate larger public ceremonies. At Buzovgrad near Kazanlak an altar and some hearths were installed in front of the tomb entrance, presumably in relation to commemorative rites (Нехризов 2013, 170). At Sboryanovo, altars were placed in subterranean tombs – in one case serving as a platform for the cremated remains (Гергова *et al.* 2013, 197; 2014, 181).

In a long debate over the 'ethnic' origin of these altars, scholars commonly call them *escharae* after the Greek term, they point to similarities with Greek chthonic altars, which are also low on the ground and frequently associated with honouring the dead or heroes, and with specific practices in selecting and treating the sacrificial animal. Others emphasise the Thracian origin and see the LIA altars as elaborations of undecorated clay platforms from the LBA and EIA (Archibald 1999, 446–7; Пировска 2007, 21 with references). Some might even have served for lighting and/or cooking within the house (cf. similar structures in Gaul – Roux & Raux 1996). It is difficult to evaluate similarities and differences until we know more about how the altars were used in context, across more sites. Notwithstanding possible predecessors, the decorated rectangular clay altar became a recognisable entity in the LIA. At this stage, a certain sequence of practices became

established as the recipe for making altars (Пировска 2007), and it was maintained over centuries until the Roman period.

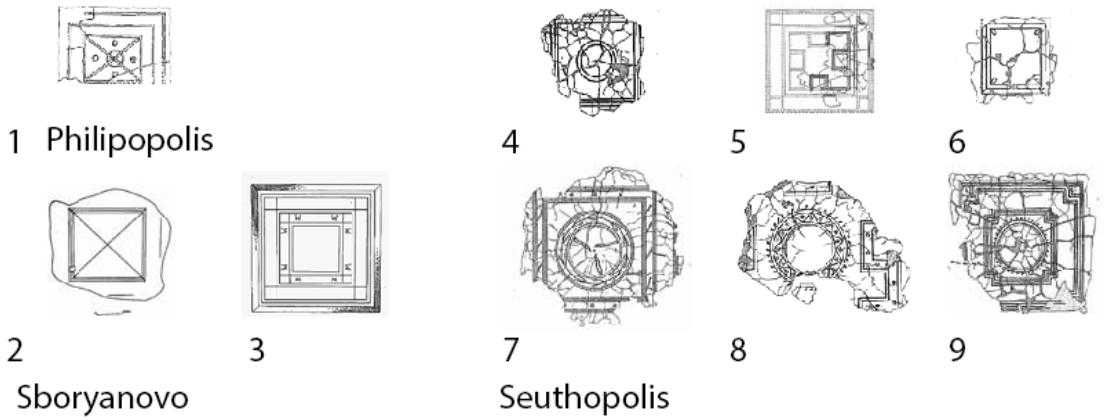


Figure 2.20. Clay altars from Hellenistic sites (after Кръстева 2011, 294 fig. s.n.)

Figure 2.21. Distribution of clay altars (after Кръстева 2011, 293 fig. s.n.)

At the same time, altars are remarkably versatile and contextual evidence shows they served a range of practices, including domestic and public ceremonies, burial and commemoration. Hence, altars could probably accommodate a variety of religious beliefs being projected on them. This versatility would explain why the altars became popular over such a wide area, and across sites that look rooted in 'Greek' and 'Thracian' religious ways, from the sanctuary of the Great Gods at Seuthopolis, through the mountain sanctuary at Dolno Dryanovo, and to the elite tombs at Sboryanovo. The term glocalisation might be evoked to describe the wide distribution of these objects across the Balkans, and their locally rooted meanings.

It seems helpful to see the clay altars as arenas which accommodated various practices, including domestic, funerary, and community cults. They are best understood as canvasses on which people could inscribe their local poetics of cult, through making and using them. The altars gained popularity because they corresponded to people's idea of what an altar was, and at the same time allowed sufficient room for 'structured improvisation' according to local tradition. By making and using these altars in their homes and in the public sphere, people over a wide geographical area became part of a wider community.

4.6. Thracian cults abroad

Imports are rare at Thracian sanctuaries; I already mentioned the occasional finds of Geometric and Archaic pottery from pit sites. The reverse process is also attested: Balkan fibula types turn up at Aegean sanctuaries (Kilian 1975), and characteristic bronze axes from the north-west Thrace are also found in the Aegean and southern Italy in the 8th – 6th century (Karadzhinov 2011). Objects can circulate in many ways, but it is very plausible that these bronzes were deposited as votive offerings by visitors from the Balkans, as Karadzhinov has argued. We cannot know whether the visitors were pilgrims or travellers with other purposes, but whoever deposited the Balkan bronzes at Aegean sanctuaries, there must have been a certain commonality of votive practice between the two regions, and receptivity to foreign objects and/or people. The movement of Balkan bronzes fits in a broader phenomenon of continental metal objects being deposited at distant Mediterranean sanctuaries (Pace & Verger 2012; cf. Verger 2003, 2011). These finds suggest that we have been underestimating the movement of people and objects between continental and Mediterranean regions in the EIA.

A famous later 'export' is the cult of the Thracian goddess Bendis, who was honoured with a major festival in Athens between the late 5th century and the Hellenistic period. Besides serving Thracians resident in Athens, the cult probably had higher political purposes. The major expense that the sacrifices and the procession involved, could only be justified by political gain. Both Thracians and Athenians could be *oregones* of the cult, thus it would have created an environment of trust and facilitated communications between Odrysian and Athenian elites (Archibald 1999, 456–9).

Another case where Thracian and Greek cults were intermeshed, is the island of Samothrace. An idiosyncratic "amalgamation" of Thracian, Aeolian, and Samian elements shaped the material culture of Samothrace, and the cult of the Great Gods, which gained the island fame in the Hellenistic period (Ilieva 2010, 2012). Greek-style architecture superseded an indigenous sanctuary, and Thracian language was used in the cults until the 1st century BC (Diodoros 5.47.14–16). Either Thracian-speaking people took up an epigraphic habit or 'Greek' worshippers took up 'Thracian' language. This is a rare phenomenon of hybridisation, as Thracian language remained unwritten in most parts. The hybrid cult might have developed because the Samian settlers depended on good relations with indigenous groups (Blakely 2011). Whatever the reasons, it is clear that there was a degree of mutual receptivity. Similar phenomena unfolded at other north Aegean sanctuaries. Continuity between indigenous and colonial cult sites is attested at the Cave of Pan on Thasos, which originally was a Thracian rock-cut tomb or niche (Owen 2000a). Thracian-language inscriptions were also found at the temple of Apollo at Messembria-Zone (Blakely 2011, 60).

It is unclear whether mutual religious receptivity extended to syncretism. Greek deities in the Hellenistic period might have been grafted onto existing local counterparts; it is also possible that the names in the sources are Greek translations of deities from the indigenous pantheon. Apollo Darenos, worshipped at Abdera, has been interpreted as a hybrid Thracian-Greek deity on linguistic grounds (Danov 1976, 162 n. 21; Isaac 1986, 107). Ultimately, the arguments are plausible, but speculative.

4.7. Concluding discussion

The foregoing evidence reveals a number of commonalities and connections between cult sites, material culture, and practices in the Aegean and the southern Balkans, although a lot of groundwork has to be done before we can grasp the meaning and implications of these

shared practices. It seems that general common practices such as votive deposition and pilgrimage underpinned the flow of religious ideas, objects, and people between the two regions. People travelled and deposited objects at foreign sanctuaries; Thracian cults were accommodated in Athens (Bendis) and perhaps the reverse happened at sites like Krastevich; in the north Aegean indigenous cult sites were turned into Greek sanctuaries (Samothrace, Thasos); Greek cult practices were taken up by Thracian-speaking worshippers (inscriptions at Samothrace, Abdera; Hellenistic temples at Seuthopolis, Kabyle). My argument about escharae as multi-purpose altars enabling cross-cultural religious interaction and accommodating regional traditions adds to the list of commonalities.

Over time important differences also emerged. Many Aegean sanctuaries acquired monumental temples and became arenas for competitive display of wealth. By contrast, most sanctuaries in Thrace retained their daub buildings, rubble stone enclosures, etc. Material investment was concentrated around mortuary practices and mortary cults.

A major change appears to have happened in the early Hellenistic period. Epigraphic mentions of Greek-sounding deities, temples, altars, and the material from Seuthopolis and Kabyle suggest that Greek cults were imported as part of the urban package after the Macedonian conquest. However, the idiosyncracies in the temple at Seuthopolis and the use of indigenous altars across the city introduce crucial nuance to this perception. Greek religious architecture and deities clearly were reinterpreted in local ways. Moreover, this picture might be distorted by the epigraphic evidence for the Hellenistic period and its scarcity before that. If the oath to Dionysos in the Pistiros inscription is more than formulaic, it could mean that Greek deities were accepted in Thrace, grafted onto indigenous gods, or accommodated in other ways, already by the mid-4th century. The processes behind acts of religious appropriation, accommodation and hybridisation were very different, depending on local socio-political conjecture. The evidence summarised here begins to elicit some of their local histories; others have yet to be uncovered.

5. Monetary circulation and monetisation

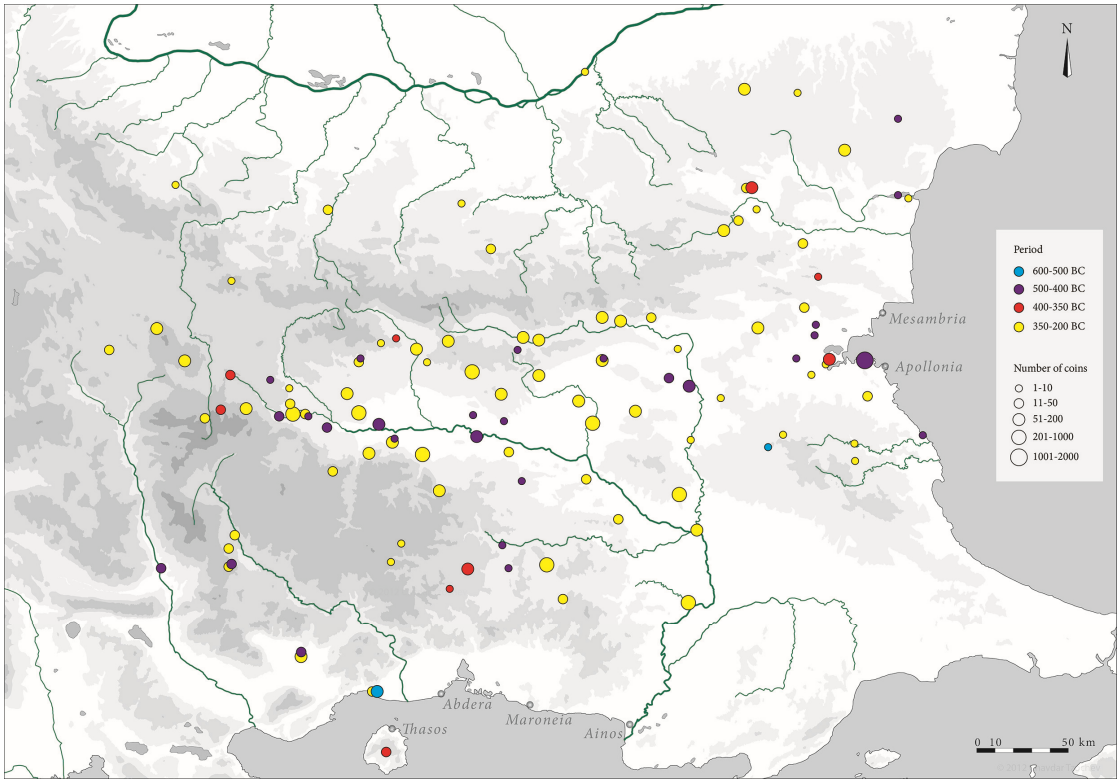
The coin hoards are one final category of evidence which illuminates the role of imported material culture and technology in Thrace. Coin hoards also elicit the nature of Thracian-Greek interactions at a regional scale by conveying the intensity and extent of monetised exchange networks, as explained in Chapter I. The data I discuss here comprise 136 coin

hoards from Thrace, dated between the 6th and early 3rd century, summarised in Appendix 3. This is not an exhaustive list, but a compilation of coin hoards from the major gazetteers (*CH, IGCH*) and recent local publications, as extensive and faithful as I could make it. Since the focus of the thesis is on inner Thrace, I have not scoured minor publications for hoards from the Aegean coast and the north-east; information for Turkish Thrace is generally scant. I use the number of hoards as a measure of frequency of each mint, because the precise composition of the hoards is often uncertain, as is their date. Nevertheless, this dataset is sufficiently large and reliable to show major chronological and geographical trends in the Thracian plain.

34 coin hoards pre-date the Macedonian conquest of the 350s BC. They are concentrated along the Hebros valley and in the Pontic area (Figure 2.22). 69% (22) of these pre-Macedonian hoards are single-mint, suggesting that they came from exchange with a given city or its economic circle, e.g., someone living and trading near Apollonia, hoarding Apollonian silver.

31% (10) of the pre-Macedonian coin hoards in Thrace unite coins from multiple sources (e.g., Abdera, Maroneia, Thasos, Apollonia), the most frequent being the Thracian Chersonese (over 3100 coins in 30 hoards) and Parion (11 hoards) (Цветкова 2004, 23; Psôma 2011, 151; see Appendix 3). The fact that the coins appear in mixed hoards implies that they were removed from a mixed pool of circulation within Thrace. In the wake of Persian occupation most of these north Aegean and Pontic mints had adopted the Persian silver weight standard (May 1950; Le Rider 1963), and their coins probably operated as interchangeable regional currency (Figueira 1998, 28). Their presence inland indicates that Thrace was integrated in a wider regional economic network, and that some exchange between Thrace and the Aegean and within Thrace was monetised already in the 5th century.

a.



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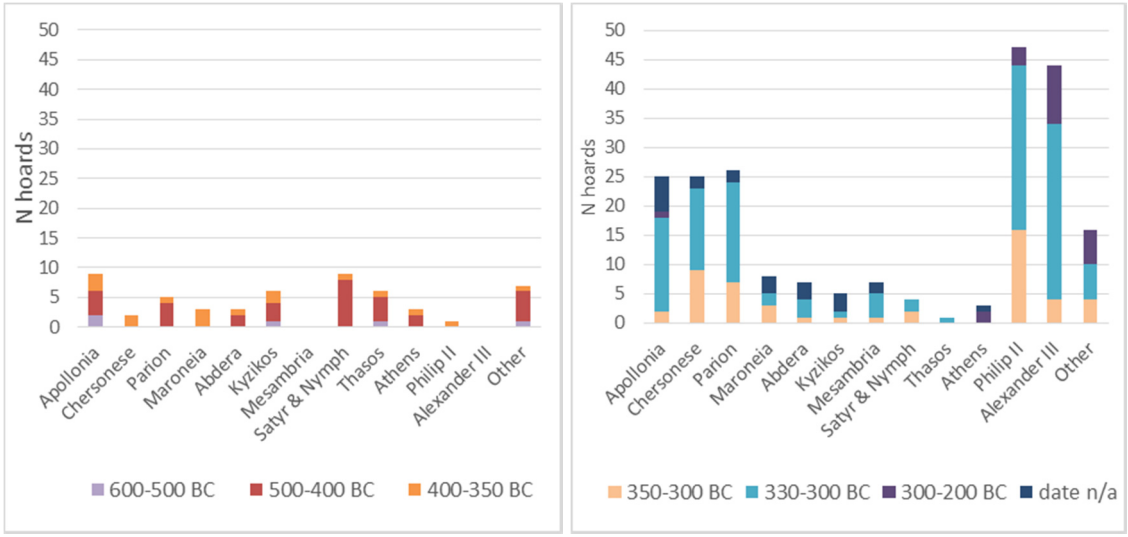

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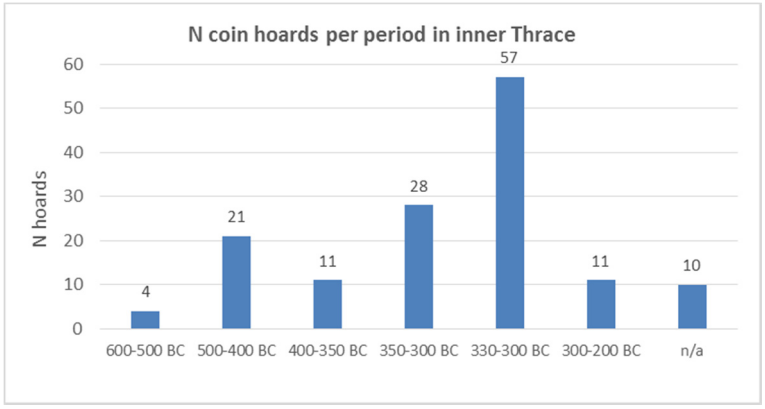

Figure 2.22. Coin hoards in Thrace: map and quantitative summary (data in Appendix 3)

While most silver coins in Thrace came from coastal Greek cities, a few 'Thraco-Macedonian' tribes around the north-west Aegean also minted silver coins in the late 6th century (see recent review in Tzamalis 2011). The legends inscribed on the coins mention the Oreskoi, Derroni, Edoni, and Bisaltai – expressions of local identity. Besides a few west Balkan hoards, their main distribution covers the Levant, Egypt, and the eastern Achaemenid provinces. Because of their unusually high weight, thefunction of Thraco-Macedonian coins is long-debated – they might have served served as 'regular' currency, for tribute, or as a means to export silver (Tzochev 2015a, 419 with references to the debate). The few finds in Thrace do not allow us to appreciate their role in Thracian-Greek interactions. Nevertheless, the Thraco-Macedonian coins indicate interest in adopting coinage among some indigenous groups with possession of silver mines. Scholars generally assume that Thracian communities did not mint the coins themselves, but either used Greek city mints (Тачева 2002, 267) or granted access to the mines in exchange for some coins (Loukopoulou 2007).

Beyond these experiments, it seems that north Aegean and Pontic mints satisfied the need for silver coins in Thrace. As we noted earlier, Thracian elites followed the Achaemenid practice of storing and transferring great amounts of wealth as metallic vessels (p. 79ff.). Written sources attest that city mints could remake such vessels into coins in order to facilitate smaller payments, e.g., to soldiers (Howgego 1995, 33). In certain ways, mints operated as private enterprises; an individual could bring their silver to a mint which would turn it into coins for a commission fee (Kroll 2011). It is therefore likely that Thracian elites cashed their silver at Greek city mints. This system allowed the patron to mint coins as needed and turned their silver into an established and versatile currency like Chersonesian or Parian coins. This would explain why these cities' coins are ubiquitous in Thrace (Figure 2.22) and why indigenous silver emissions are so rare.

The pre-Macedonian hoards show that coins appeared in Thrace in the 6th century and found wider use in the 5th century. At this stage coinage was still a new technology, beginning to spread across the Mediterranean, and Thrace was an early adopter. By comparison, temperate European communities began minting their own coinage as late as the 3rd – early 2nd century (Nash Briggs 1995, 245).

From 350 BC onwards, we see a dramatic increase in the number of hoarded coins, a broader spatial distribution, diversification in their sources, and the dominance of Macedonian issues. This trend reflects a general increase in monetisation across

Mediterranean economies, but the swift change in Thrace is obviously related to the Macedonian conquest in the 340s BC. On the one hand, danger and turmoil probably triggered more intensive hoarding. On the other hand, Macedonian presence boosted the extent and intensity of monetised exchange. Figure 2.22 clearly shows that more coins were being hoarded, and over a larger area, implying that coins circulated more widely. After 350 BC 69% (66) hoards contain coins from more than one mint (as opposed to 31% (10) before 350 BC), showing more intensive mixing via monetised exchange within Thrace.

To summarise, coinage was one technological import which Thracian communities adopted early and keenly. The movement of silver coins shows that Thrace was part of a wider economic network across the north Aegean and southern Balkans within which some exchange flows were monetised. Far from being a sign of Hellenisation, the adoption of coinage in Thrace resulted from a complex triangulation of historical factors: as a prerequisite, the availability of silver and minting technology; more importantly, the existence of socio-economic relations which could be usefully mediated by coins (e.g., trade, tribute, soldier payments, taxation), and cultural receptivity towards tools like coins which could facilitate the exchange and storage of wealth.

These factors came together in the 5th century. Another boost to monetary circulation occurred in the mid-4th century. It is tempting to explain these pivotal points with Achaemenid and Macedonian imperial impact on economic structures in Thrace and the wider region. The circulation of Macedonian coinage enlarged the scale and fostered the creation of new relations, which ultimately brought the Thracian interior and the Aegean littoral economically closer. We should however be cautious in our assessment of Persian and Macedinian impact given our limited understanding of the nature of Persian occupation (cf. Vassileva 2015) and the limited research on local responses to Macedonian presence – issues beyond the scope of this thesis.

One question emerging from this regional review regards the economic relations between individual Greek cities and the Thracian interior; I will address it in the case-study on Apollonia (Chapter III). Another issue begging examination is monetary circulation in cities and the use of fiduciary (bronze) coinage which is usually not deposited in hoards. The numismatic record form Vetren offers excellent ground for exploring these themes (Chapter IV).

6. Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to flesh out the Thracian side of the encounter through archaeological evidence. To this end, the preceding pages sketched the major patterns and long-term dynamics in Thrace from the EIA to the early Hellenistic period, looking across the burial, settlement, and cult context, and monetary circulation. This review presents in broad-brush strokes the 'social fabric' in which Greek imports were introduced. I then proceded to

- infer the range of interactions behind the distribution of imports;
- interrogate why indigenous people were interested in adopting foreign things and technologies in each sphere;
- examine what were the effects of adopting foreign cultural elements.

Let us summarise the observations above. The burial and settlement evidence from Iron Age Thrace shows a picture of diverse but connected communities. They lived in a variety of settlements and economic setups and buried their dead with great variability. Yet, there were certain practices that connected these communities across the region: traditions of building houses, making pots and feasting with them; a wide but shared range of acceptable ways of treating the dead. We therefore see a flexible and contingent construction of Thracian identity within a palimpsest of regional and local traditions as well as individual choices.

In addition to these differences, from the 8th century onwards and into the LIA, certain groups and individuals across Thracian communities began to show increasing concern with status display. Local and imported objects served their projects of distinction and helped them materialise relations of difference within their communities. Imported prestige items were increasingly used by a part of society for which ostentatious funerary display became a field for competition. Already in the EIA, there was a pronounced interest in jewellery. In the 5th century the quantity and diversity of local and foreign luxuries grew exponentially as evidenced in the Duvanlii-Kaloyanovo cemetery, and included increasing involvement of foreign artisans and fashions over the LIA.

The ostentatious imports in LIA graves are the sign of a wider influx of wealth in Thrace, which exacerbated pre-existing social differences. Many luxury objects probably arrived in Thrace via gift-exchange and tribute. By adapting and inverting the Achaemenid model of gift-exchange into tribute-extortion, certain LIA elites consolidated their positions in the

new social equilibrium. They further employed foreign architects, jewellers, and other craftspeople, to develop an idiosyncratic eclectic poetics of power. The tombs and burial inventories of LIA Thracian elites drew on elements from Aegean and Anatolian fashions, and symbols of power, sometimes building on pre-existing Thracian practices such as feasting and ancestor cults, then hybridised and appropriated them to serve local agendas of aggrandising and competition.

The settlement evidence shows that the economic organisation of these communities was changing contemporaneously with the rise of urban centres. The EIA saw a limited degree of craft specialisation, most visible in metal-working and pottery, which intensified with the introduction of the potter's wheel, coroplasty, and other new technologies in the 6th – 5th century. These craft technologies contributed to specialised craft production and the accompanying labour relations. New forms of architecture and new kinds of settlement with increasing permanence and density contributed to creating new forms of social relations. Towns with mudbrick fortifications and cobbled streets looked and functioned in increasingly different ways from the vast majority of wattle-and-daub settlements.

We also see an increase in the amount of imports and circulation across the Thracian plain. From the EIA to the LIA, the down-the-line trickle of imported pottery grew into a wider and increasingly stable supply of black-glazed drinking pots, perfume bottles, and – as later chapters will show – amphorae. Monetised exchange within Thrace and with the north Aegean also intensified from the 5th century onwards. Another, more dramatic boost to monetised exchange and urbanism occurred in the mid-4th century, related to the Macedonian conquest.

Across the evidence for burial practices, social structure, settlement dynamics, and monetary circulation, two key pivotal points emerge to the foreground: the early 5th and the mid-4th century. It is tempting to associate these moments of change with Persian and Macedonian imperial presence. These empires clearly left a mark on the southern Balkans by introducing models of elite fashion and aggrandisement, planting cities, and boosting economic flows. The evidence above might be seen to substantiate Zosia Archibald's (2013c) argument that Persian occupation remodelled economic structures on the Balkans in a way in which they remained until the Roman period. However, this narrative is somewhat reductionist and glosses over large gaps in the historical record, including the nature of Persian occupation (cf. Vassileva 2015), and does not help us to understand local responses to these events. We should be cautious not to displace the overestimated

'influence' of Greek colonialism with the overestimated impact of Persian and Macedonian imperialism.

One way towards a more nuanced narrative is to consider indigenous agency and consumption. The evidence in this chapter demonstrates that imports satisfied a variety of local needs and helped people to fulfil a range of social projects. Already from the EIA, rare imported luxury items served Thracian elites to materialise their status within increasingly stratified communities. This trend continued in the LIA, as an ever wider range of imports were consumed, to articulate ever widening differences in wealth and power. Another key role, which Greek imports played was to facilitate and gradually transform existing economic practices, including craft production, the exchange and storage of wealth. Over time technological imports played a subtle role in social change by increasing and consolidating differences in wealth and lifestyle, differentiated labour relations. Crucially, this rewriting of social relations in Thracian society was grafted onto existing practices and processes, already apparent in the EIA. These changes over the EIA–LIA transition were a piecemeal process, unfolding at a different pace in different areas. While some imports like the potter's wheel were taken up widely over the course of several generations, others like coinage, did not become useful until wider economic structures had shifted.

This summary differs from usual accounts of Thracian-Greek interactions in several subtle but important aspects. First, I have been trying to write about people, their engagement with foreign objects, technologies, and practices, rather than the encounter between 'cultures'. As a result, the agents of my historical narrative visible so far, are the elite consumers of foreign luxuries, and craft specialists, exchanging techniques and moving between Thrace and the Aegean. The ongoing movements of pastoralists, pilgrims, mercenaries, and other people left more subtle traces in the archaeological record, but even so, the evidence for sustained mobility of people and objects across the landscape over the Iron Age is undeniable. One important implication, is that we have probably been underestimating the role of indigenous exchange networks in disseminating imports. Another implication is that this vision of continuous 'Brownian movement' takes 'Greek colonisation' off its pedestal, and places it within a continuum of connectivity extending beyond the sea and into the continent. As we saw, the evidence shows enclaves of people with Aegean ways of life and death from the EIA (Koprivlen, Stambolovo) and LIA

(Krastevich). It is against this background of that we should rethink the establishment of Greek cities, in following.

This review also reveals the fragmentary inconclusive nature of the evidence, and the overreliance on burials, which emphasise elite consumption of imports. Many sites in Thrace appear exceptional, thus it is difficult to generalise and to draw subtle long-term histories from the archaeological evidence, without recoursing to causality through major historical events. In response to these issues, it is necessary to examine how interactions unfolded in specific contexts and contact-zones.

Another outcome of this chapter is that each side of the encounter between 'Thrace' and 'Greece' was constantly changing. Recent scholarship on Greek identities underscores their plurality, and the different ways in which people understood and related go 'Greekness' over time (Hall 2002). What we call 'Greek' imports and influences in Thrace was in fact, an ever-changing mix of Graeco-Persian, east and north Aegean, Athenian, and Hellenistic/Macedonian versions of 'Greek' material culture, constantly reinvented, hybridised, and appropriated. The regional variability of Thracian communities, the chronological transformations in material culture and practice surveyed in this chapter, illustrate that a similar complexity applies to 'Thracian' culture, even if we lack the historical sources that might elucidate Thracian discourses of self-definition. The inter-actors in 'Thracian-Greek relations' had many and changing faces, and we should therefore expect and explore the variable responses to Thracian-Greek encounters in local contexts, as I go on to do in the following chapters.

Chapter III. APOLLONIA PONTICA

Following the regional patterns review, this chapter zooms in on Apollonia Pontica in order to examine how Thracian-Greek relations unfolded on the Black Sea coast. This case-study offers a new perspective, since Greek-indigenous encounters on the Pontic littoral have not been examined by post-colonial scholarship. Apollonia also adds to the literature of local and divergent histories of Greek *apoikiai*.

This chapter begins by reviewing existing models of engagement between Apollonia and Thrace. The following sections (2–4) address the issue of identity and alterity: to what extent and in what ways was Apollonia different from Thrace in terms of daily life, economy, religious, and funerary practices? Then sections 6 and 7 examine the interactions between Apollonia and the Thracian interior in terms of imported objects, technologies, and practices, specifically looking at how and why indigenous communities used imports.

1 History of research and models of engagement

Our knowledge of Apollonia is strongly shaped by its excavation history (recently recounted by Krastina Panayotova (2010a)). French archaeologist George Seure (1924) collated the information from 19th-century digs by various travellers, soldiers, looters, and diplomats with an antiquarian interest. Thereafter excavations at Apollonia were mainly driven by construction and development pressures in modern Sozopol. Construction work and excavations scaled up dramatically in the 1940s. Ivan Venedikov unearthed some 800 graves across the Classical and Hellenistic period cemeteries (Венедиков 1963). Fieldwork at the cemetery was renewed in the 1990s, led by Krastina Panayotova (Docter *et al.* 2010; Hermary *et al.* 2010). These cemeteries supply most of the archaeological evidence we have about Apollonia. In the 2000s, excavations have also uncovered several

farms around the city, and the Archaic-phase settlement and temple on St Kirik Island. The results from these campaigns appear in short preliminary reports.

1.1. Historical models

Besides the history of excavations, the history of ideas about Apollonia also has significance for my study: older models about Thracian-Greek relations need to be scrutinised before we can build upon them.

One common historical approach seeks to assess the extent of Apollonia's territorial control, following Strabo's words (7.6.1.) that Apollonia's *chora* extended from Anchialo to Cape Thynias (Figure 3.20). Noting that a small city like Apollonia could only control such large landscape through successful diplomacy and economic ties, scholars envisage Apollonia's 'territory' as a system of daughter-settlements and commercial partners (Данов 1947; Kalojanov 1986; Gyuzelev 2003). This model projects notions of territorial 'control' over fragmentary archaeological evidence (see p. 171ff. below), and it sees Apollonia's engagement with its surroundings in terms of control and commerce. Also problematically, this sea-centred perspective pays little attention to Thracian communities beyond the coast.

Another historical model concerned with the hinterland proposed that "early contact between the Thracian autochthones and the Greek sailors and merchants, the forerunners of the later colonists … [was] uniformly hostile" (Danov 1960b, 75). From the scant written sources, Hristo Danov inferred that 4th-century Apollonia was a city under multiple pressures (Данов 1948; Danov 1960b). Xenophon's (7.5.12) testimony about the dangers for sailors along the Pontic coast, narratives of conflict between Greeks and indigenous communities elsewhere, and Aeneas' (20.4) comments on Apollonia's defence system led Danov to extrapolate that Apollonians lived in danger from Thracian attack (Данов 1948, 180–4). He also believed that Apollonia suffered internal political tensions (see Aristotle *Politics*, 06a, 03a, 25), and was abandoned by Athens after the Peloponnesian war of 431–404 BC. This vision of Apollonia as an isolated city, stranded on a wintery Pontic coast, and surrounded by warlike neighbours was dramatically transformed by archaeological finds.

1.2. Archaeological perspectives from Apollonia

The 1940s excavations significantly expanded archaeological knowledge about Classical Apollonia and changed the model of Thracian-Greek relations (Венедиков 1963). Venedikov uncovered hundreds of graves with figured pottery which, to him, signalled Apollonia's economic prosperity and commercial link to Athens.[25] He posited that after the fertile lands of west Anatolia had come under Persian rule in the early 5th century, Athens procured its grain from the Black Sea via Apollonia among other cities. Apollonia accrued significant riches from this trade, reflected in the rich graves in Kalfata cemetery between c. 460–430 BC, the bronze statue of Apollo cast by Kalamis, and the distribution of Apollonian coin hoards in fertile areas inland (Венедиков 1963, 344). Further on, Venedikov (Венедиков 1963, 347) concludes,

> A settlement of rich traders and small proprietors, Apollonia decays when trade with the outside world and mainly Athens decreases, and flourishes when trade rises. Because she has no own production, Apollonia's wealth is due to the exploitation of the Thracian population, from which she bought foodstuffs.

This vision of Apollonia became the basis for further discussion of the relations between Apollonia, Thrace, and the Aegean. In a revised historical account, Danov embraced Venedikov's model and credited Apollonia's economic prosperity to exploitation of its resource-rich hinterland, and a successful relationship with the Odrysian aristocracy as clients (Данов 1969). Brashinski similarly interpreted the distribution of Apollonian coins and Pontic amphorae in Thrace as evidence for Apollonia's leading role in trade in the 5th and 4th century (Брашински 1970).

Examining the (then meagre) distribution of Apollonian arrow-coins in the 6th century, Kamen Dimitrov (Димитров 1975, 46) posited that Apollonia had "very limited contacts with local tribes during the 7th–6th century", and

> The political fragmentation of the Thracian lands is, it seems, a barrier for the penetration of Apollonian traders in the fertile Thracian plains ….

[25] Figured pottery at Apollonia came from various production centres, including Athens.

It is only after the creation of the Odrysian kingdom in the early 5th century BC that Apollonian trade, traceable by the dozens of coin hoards, enters the upper Thracian plain and Dobrudzha.

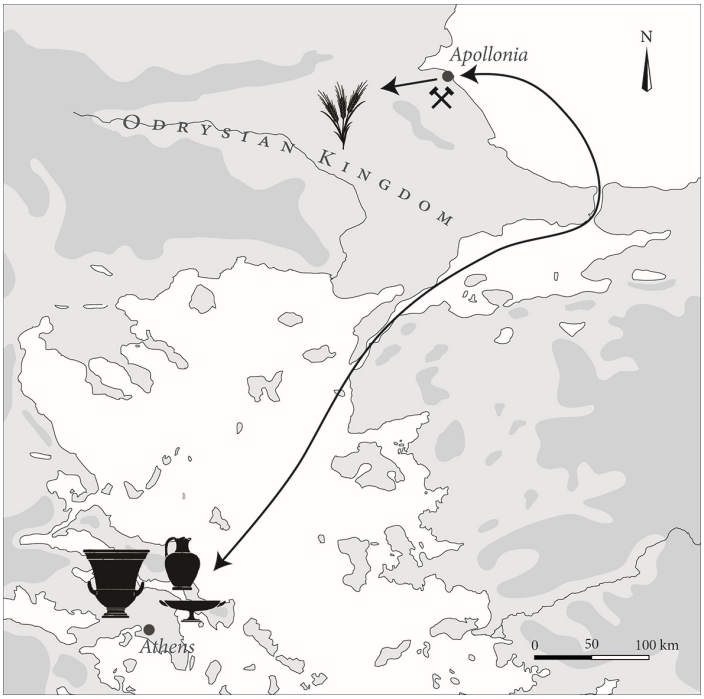

Figure 3.1. Apollonia as intermediary in a core-periphery system between Thrace and the Aegean

Like other models, this one reifies the stereotype of Greeks as merchants, and leaves little agency to indigenous consumers. The Odrysian kingdom merely facilitated the commercial ambitions of Apollonian traders. Dimitrov's argument resembles an older model for Etruria which postulated that Greeks only engaged with locals who had crossed a certain civilisational threshold – state formation.

Hence, it is commonly accepted that through the 5th and 4th century Apollonia acted as commercial mediator between Thrace and the Aegean. The city prospered thanks to its successful (if exploitative) commercial relationship with its hinterland.

This model is problematic on theoretical and empirical grounds. It belongs to the category of world-systems models (see Chapter I). It sees Thrace as the backwater of the Aegean, exchanging raw materials for technologically sophisticated goods with assumed value. This argument clearly hinges on Athenocentric and Hellenocentric biases, positing that Athenian interest in grain dictated the dynamics of trade in Thrace, and the relations between Apollonia and its surroundings. In turn, Apollonians are given agency as Greek

traders, and their identity is correspondingly reduced to this stereotype. Other modes of interaction besides trade are not considered.

The model depends on the untenable assumption that Attic figured pots were luxury items which attest to direct trade (between Athens and Apollonia, Apollonia and Thrace). As we saw in Chapter I, Attic pottery circulated via much more complex trade networks. In addition, we cannot demonstrate that Apollonian coins in Thrace were exchanged for grain (from an exploited peasantry), nor that the putative grain was shipped to Athens. We simply have no evidence whether and how Apollonia participated in the Pontic grain trade, which flourished between Athens, the Bosporan kingdom (Moreno 2007), and probably the fertile land around Dobrudzha (Tzochev forthcoming).

The theoretical shortcomings of the model and the problematic way it handles the evidence illustrate the need to rethink Apollonia's relationship with Thrace and the wider region. Such a reassessment was not attempted in the literature. Instead, scholars continued to collect more data, and the interpretation gradually shifted.

1.3. Archaeological perspectives (from the hinterland)

The *Thracian Megaliths* expeditions in the 1970s provided an alternative, Thraco-centric perspective on the relations between Apollonia and Thrace (Венедиков *et al.* 1976; Фол 1982b).[26] The expeditions catalogued dolmens, rock-cut features, and 'forts' in an effort to define 'the megalithic culture' of ancient Thrace. They identified a series of hilltop sites along Medni Rid, interpreted as 'Thracian fortresses', from where indigenous elites controlled the copper mines (Figure 3.21). Considering the fortifications and defensive siting, the Thracological model proposed that Thracian elites from the hillforts lived under threat from Apollonian attack (Делев *et al.* 1982, 378). At the same time Apollonia offered

[26] Admittedly, the Thracian Megaliths volumes contained divergent views on Thracian-Greek relations. The editor, Alexander Fol, considered Thrace "part of the common evolutionary process" across the south-east Balkans, Anatolia, and "the Mycenaean world"; he believed 'megalithic culture' to be a product of "interactions" between these areas (Фол 1982a, 10). It is unclear to me how these claims were substantiated. Meanwhile, the discussion of archaeological finds highlights that Thracians preserved their 'megalithic' traditions even into the Hellenistic period and even posits that there was some inherent hostility between Thrace and Apollonia (Делев *et al.* 1982).

wider possibilities for maritime trade. Thracian elites struck a deal with Apollonia, posits the model, so that both sides benefitted from extracting and trading copper ore. This allegedly contributed to the intensified exploitation of copper ores at Medni Rid. This model was recently reiterated in terms of two parallel "cultural models", colonial and indigenous, which interacted along the edges (Nedev & Panayotova 2003, 111, 115), or two parallel settlement systems with autonomous societies converging over shared economic interest (Nedev & Panayotova 2003, 100).

Unlike earlier Hellenocentric models, the Thracological perspective endowed indigenous groups with control over natural resources, and agency to resist and negotiate with Apollonia in pursuit of their own agenda.[27] In other respects however, this model resembles the model of hinterland exploitation considered above (with Apollonia extracting metal from nearby hills). Most problematically, the Thracological model was built on preliminary analysis of limited survey and excavation finds (see Section 7).

Recent excavations and material studies have significantly enriched our understanding of Apollonian-Thracian relations. Based on the presence of 6th-century transport amphorae and other imports around the Bay of Burgas, Chavdar Tzochev (2011b) proposed that Apollonia initiated contacts with communities around Burgas Bay within the first decades of settling and soon acquired "commercial influence" over the area. Apollonia built its fortune on trade, being limited in its opportunities to claim land or resources, argues Tzochev. Like earlier models, this one assigns trade a major role. However, in this model Apollonia's network was restricted to the coastal region, and contacts with indigenous communities started early – contrary to previous understanding that Apollonia was isolated from the hinterland until the 5th century. Although Tzochev does not explicitly consider Thracian agency, the model can only operate through an effective partnership between Apollonia and the indigenous communities.

The excavation team at Apollonia has also embraced the idea of amicable Apollonian-Thracian relations (Damyanov 2012b; Панайотова *et al.* 2012a). In their view, the consistent expansion of Apollonia's cemetery and the appearance of rural sites are evidence that Apollonia maintained friendly relations with its neighbours. According to

[27] This discourse was driven by the nationalistic ethos of the Thracology school at the time (see Chapter I).

Panayotova (pers. comm.), 'Thracians' also lived in Apollonia, but they remain archaeologically invisible, because they were 'Hellenised'.

Alongside these models, the discourse about Thracian-Greek relations at Apollonia has been characterised by pervasive vagueness. Discussions often move from pot sherd descriptions to broad terms like 'contacts', 'influence', and 'trade', without an explicit link in the middle. For example: "The appearance of imported goods in a specific Thracian setting [at Debelt] is a strong indication of the role Apollonia played in the region" (Nedev & Panayotova 2003, 100–1). Often the underlying assumption is that trade was a vehicle for the "radiation" of a "civilisational process" (Карайотов *et al.* 2000, 15).

1.4. Conclusions

The foregoing review shows that models of Apollonian-Thracian relations have gradually morphed from one extreme (hostility) to the other (cooperation and partnership) as new evidence has come to light. As a consequence of this incremental and data-driven narrative shift, the historiography of Apollonia has not yet seen an open clash of ideas. There has been no explicit re-appraisal of the theoretical and ideological assumptions which underpin divergent positions, and no post-colonial revision. These factors have allowed the survival of certain tropes which recur through the different models of engagement, and which continue to shape our vision of Apollonia.

One such trope is the vision of trade as the predominant mode of interaction between Apollonia and its surroundings, and more broadly, between Thrace and Greece (see Chapter I and IV). The nature of the evidence partly explains why scholars have emphasised commerce: Apollonia had a harbour, and much of the processed material comprises imported pottery, coins, and amphorae. The problem is that a fixation with trade neglects other modes of interaction.

The second, related trope is the assumption that both 'Greeks' and 'Thracians' had stereotypical ethnic identities and historical roles. By assumption, agency lies in the hands of the 'Greek merchants', while the Thracian hinterland as populated by unreceptive barbarians, sometimes hostile hillfort elites, clients entertained by trinkets, or exploited peasantry. Ethnic identities have been pinned to material culture distributions, and social processes like 'influence' and 'trade' have been pinned to scant material. As I argued in Chapter I, if we wish to attain a deeper understanding of inter-cultural relations, we need to

understand the people and the practices that link material on the ground and abstract concepts.

Having scrutinised the historiography of Thracian-Greek relations at Apollonia, the next step is to gather the latest evidence and address several key issues. First, I will study the construction of identity and alterity in Apollonia and its surrounding sites, rather than assuming historical roles contingent on ethnic identity. I will examine how identities are shaped by everyday life, religious, funerary, and everyday practices. Second, I will look specifically at interaction channels beyond trade. Third, I will consider the interests and roles of indigenous communities and individuals, without placing them on an evolutionary scale.

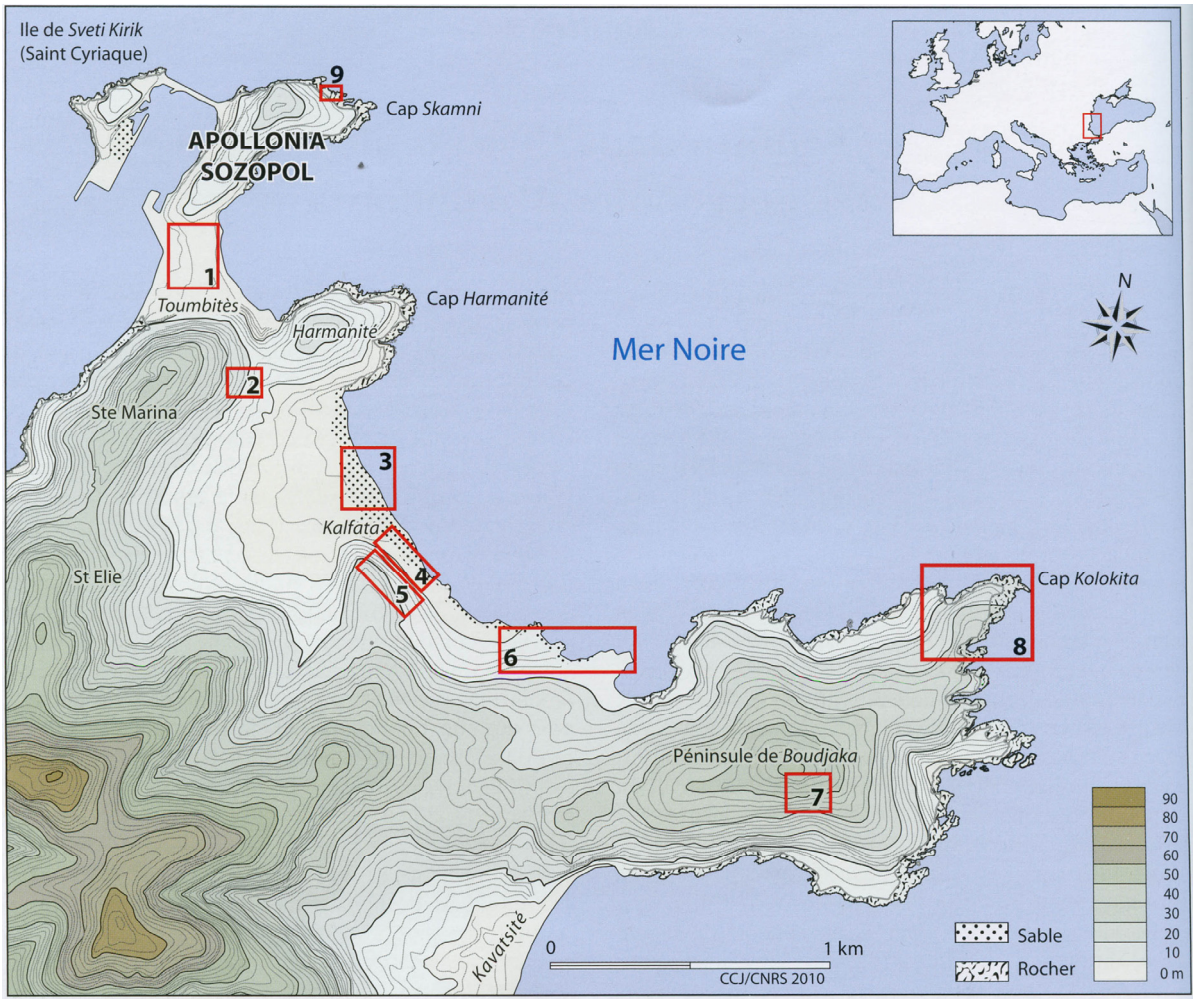

Figure 3.2. Apollonia and excavated areas of its cemeteries (Hermary *et al.* 2010, 40 fig. 18).

1. Landscape and site development

1.1. Landscape and seascape

Greek-indigenous relations developed differently in different regions and contexts, as we saw in Chapter I. And while geography does not dictate history, it does shape the distinctive environments in which divergent historical narratives unfold. This section will focus on how the possibilities for connectivity and the distribution of natural resources at Apollonia enabled certain social and historical decisions, and restricted others.

Scholars have masterfully shown how geography interacted with culture to shape Mediterranean societies and history (Braudel 1972; Horden & Purcell 2000; Broodbank 2013). By applying this approach to west Pontic coast, we can elucidate the specificities of the Black Sea as a theatre for cultural interaction and Apollonia's place in it.

The Black Sea differs from the Aegean and the Mediterranean in several respects. Owing to its northern latitude, the Pontos was known in antiquity as 'the inhospitable sea' (Ovid *Tristia* 4.4.55ff.): notorious for its harsh winters, unpredictable storms, and strong currents. The Black Sea also has very few islands, and the coastline is not as rugged as the Mediterranean; hence inter-visibility is much reduced (cf. Horden & Purcell 2000, 127). Finally, Pontic currents turn counter-clockwise (Figure 3.3). These factors limited the scope for sea travel compared to the Mediterranean: for millennia local sea-voyagers moved along the coast (Ivanova 2012), and Aegean boats only crossed the Bosporos in the 7th century (Tsetskhladze 1994). Generally boats followed the counter-clockwise route and by the 4th century they could also sail against the currents (Pseudo-Skylax § 67). As a result, Pontic webs of connectivity were woven on a different geographical framework than the Aegean and the Mediterranean: rather than allowing multiple island connections, the Pontos invited ships and contacts to follow the coastline in a linear fashion. In this context, Apollonia held a strategic position as the first or last port west of the Bosporos.[28]

[28] There probably were other, smaller harbours, refuge anchorages, and fishing villages, and the city of Salmydessos reportedly lay at modern Kıyıköy. However, the archaeological data are scant (cf. Ahtopol, Kiten – Appendix 1), and the written sources do not mention other ports south of Apollonia until in the 2nd century AD (Arrian 24; Ptolemy 3.11.3).

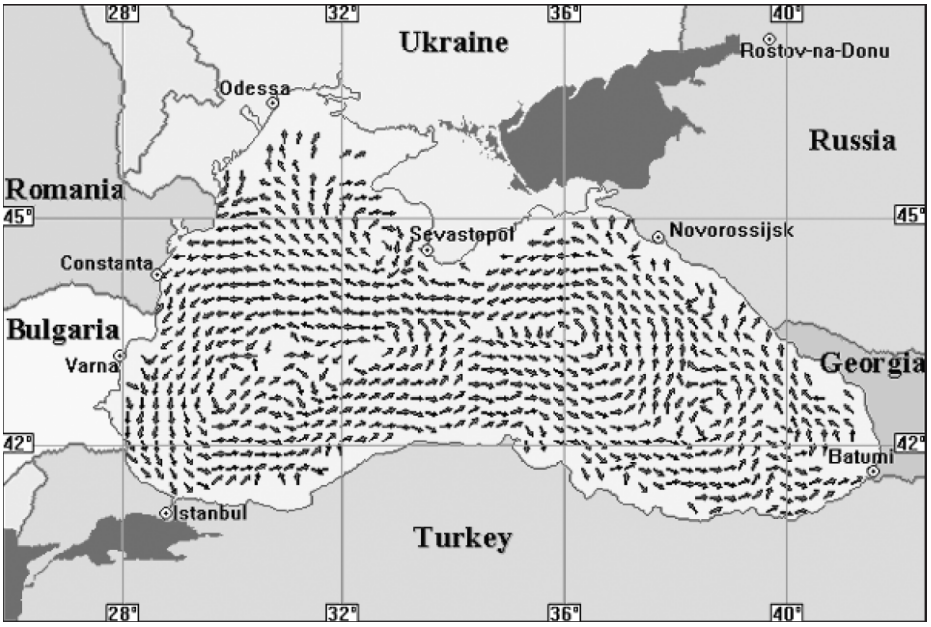

Figure 3.3. Black Sea currents (de Boer 2007, 136 fig. 5)

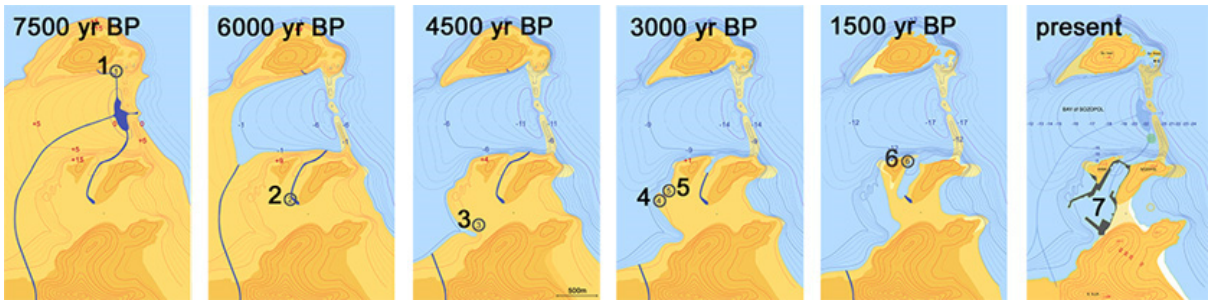

Figure 3.4. Sea level, coast line change, and hypothetical harbours at Sozopol (after Preisinger & Aslanian 2000)

We need to further distinguish between micro-regions within the Black Sea. The north and north-west Pontic area has abundant agricultural land lined with fertile loess soils. This territory provided grain, one of the key commodities that the Bosporan Kingdom exported to Athens (Moreno 2007, 144ff.). Apollonia, by contrast, had limited agricultural land but a rich supply of copper ores. The peninsula of Apollonia is surrounded by a 5–8 km wide band of arable land, encircled by the Medni Rid (Copper Ridge) hills. Low-lying hills extend west into the Strandzha Mountains, rich in timber. The availability of metal ore and timber set Apollonia in a good place for developing pyro-industries and trading, but we have yet to establish to what extent these resources were used at the time. Additionally, once ships could sail directly to the Crimea through the open sea, the west Pontic coast remained peripheral. Apollonia became one of many ports along a coastal route, rather than a major destination in a marine trade network. These contrasts place Apollonian–Thracian relations in a different starting position compared to the north Black Sea polities.

So far the geographical data cast doubts on the feasibility of a traditional core-periphery trade model, reviewed above.

Looking toward the continent, Apollonia had a good albeit indirect connection to inner Thrace via the Bay of Burgas. To the south, Medni Rid is flanked by Ropotamo River, which might have been navigable in antiquity. We should also briefly note that the environment of modern Sozopol has changed over time. Sea levels were lower in the 1st millennium BC, so Skamny peninsula was wider and extended to St Kirik Island (Figure 3.4). The rising sea level has submerged Apollonia's ancient harbour and parts of the pre-Classical settlement.

As we see, Apollonia had a strategic but somewhat isolated location within the Black Sea, as one of the few south-west ports in the circum-Pontic trade route. Its easiest connections are with other Black Sea cities and the Bay of Burgas. Apollonia was endowed with atypical resources for a Pontic *apoikia*, with its proximity to copper and its limited agricultural land. The following sections explore how this geographical foundation was socially and technologically negotiated.

1.2. Pre-colonial histories

The history of Thracian-Greek encounters at Apollonia is made of two interweaving strands: the histories of local and incoming people. Recent excavations have revealed intact deposits from indigenous EIA occupation at Skamny Peninsula (Гюзелев 2009, 248) and Harmanite (Панайотова *et al.* 2014c, 271; Дамянов *et al.* 2015, 358), complementing isolated/unpublished earlier finds of EIA material (Dimitrov 1987, 11; Nedev & Panayotova 2003, 95, 123; Nedev & Gyuzelev 2010, 31). The excavators date the EIA 'settlement' in Harmanite to EIA1 (11th–9th century). The published fragments with stamped and incised decoration however (Figure 3.5), give a wide chronological range through the EIA (see Chapter II): they could theoretically overlap with Greek occupation at Apollonia in the 6th century. For now the EIA layers appear to be distinct from later strata with Archaic Greek material, and there is no evidence that indigenous and Greek settlements overlapped. Bearing in mind that EIA settlements were often short-lived (see Chapter II), it is very likely that this was temporary, or seasonal habitation, and that when the first Apollonians arrived, they found the peninsula uninhabited.

Figure 3.5. EIA pottery from Harmanite (after Панайотова *et al.* 2014c, 271 fig. 2)

The other strand of Apollonia's history begins across the sea. According to the written sources, Apollonia was founded by settlers from Miletos towards the end of the 7th century (Aelianus 3.17; Pseudo-Skylax § 67; Pseudo-Skymnos § 730–3; Strabo 7.6.1). Stephanos of Byzantium however points to settlers from Miletos and Rhodos.

The archaeological data from Apollonia – onomastics, cults, pottery, urban layout – concur that most early settlers came from Ionia (Baralis & Hermary 2010, 11–15), and the Archaic pottery confirms the reported foundation date towards the end of the 7th century. At this point in history, Ionians might have been driven away from their homeland by political conflict with the Lydian Kingdom, and at the same time attracted by opportunities overseas. Taking advantage of these opportunities at Apollonia would have required knowledge of the area and its resources, and sufficient social capital to establish a working relationship with its inhabitants.

We should remember however that the foundation narratives about Apollonia were recorded centuries after the events, and this chronological distance produced divergent histories, amalgamated of truth and fable.

Despite the correspondence between archaeology and the written sources about Ionian presence, we cannot trust that the first Apollonians were exclusively Milesian. Foundation narratives usually name a single mother-city, but the archaeological record shows that many overseas settlements were mixed from the start (Osborne 2009, 78–92, 227–8). The greyware pottery from Apollonia shows that potters at least came from across Ionia and Aeolis (Nikov 2012). The foundation narratives are artefacts of their time – the Classical and Hellenistic period – and served as political discourses of common origin (Hall 2008). By moulding the way the past was remembered, they shaped the present and the future (Dougherty 1993, 185–6), and provided a sense of community identity. By emphasising their origin from a single mother-city, Miletos, Apollonians constructed a more cohesive group identity.

Professed Ionian heritage also strengthened Apollonia's links with other Ionian cities around the Black Sea, and Apollonians certainly drew upon such kinship networks for commerce and military alliance. In the 2nd century, for instance, Apollonia successfully retaliated against Mesambrian attacks thanks to help from Histria, a fellow Ionian city. The surviving decree names the Histrians "friends and relatives" of Apollonia (*IGBulg* I^2 388^2; *SEG* 19:468; Pippidi & Popescu 1959).

In sum, Apollonia was probably founded by a mixed group of people, including a strong Ionian contingent. The city's Ionian identity was emphasised for present interests, centuries after the foundation.

1.3. Site development

Excavations on St Kirik Island elucidated several construction phases in the Archaic-period settlement (Панайотова *et al.* 2010, 2011, 2012b, 2014b). The earliest structures are huts dug 50 cm into the ground 5x5 and 4x2 m large, where archaeologists found a mix of hand-made and east Aegean pottery, iron knives, and other basic equipment. A second construction phase, from the mid-6th century, was characterised by more substantial buildings on stone foundations, arranged around a paved street with a drain. The area on St Kirik was re-organised around 500 BC (Figure 3.7), with the erection of a temple and an altar of ashlar masonry (Figure 3.9).

Further traces of 6th-century activity were found on Skamny peninsula during rescue excavations (Figure 3.8). The structures follow a consistent north-south orientation. They were made of mudbrick on low stone foundations, and had tiled roofs (Nedev & Panayotova 2003, 99). One early 6th-century structure on St Kirik has been identified as a metal workshop (Панайотова *et al.* 2012b, 239), and slag was attested at many Archaic-period excavation sites on Skamny.

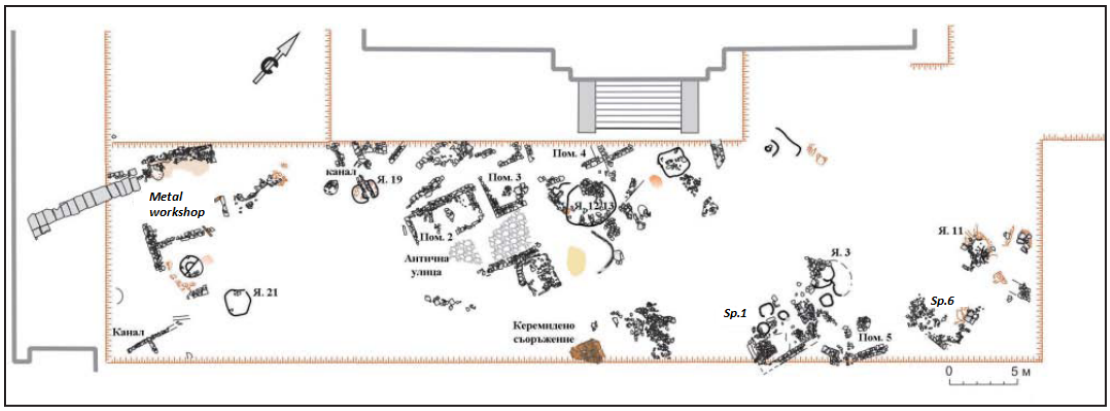

Figure 3.6. St Kirik (7th – 6th century): dwellings and street (Панайотова *et al.* 2012b, 239 fig. 1)

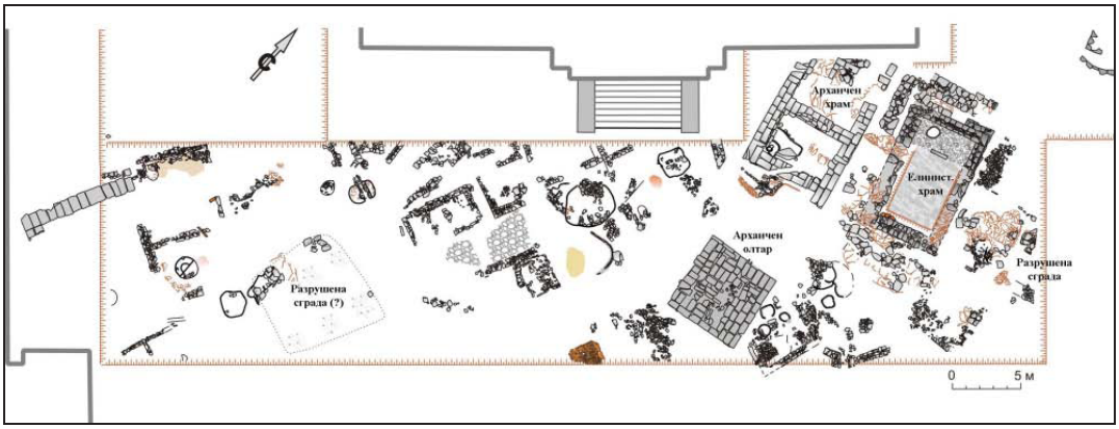

Figure 3.7. St Kirik (5th – 3rd century): Archaic and Hellenistic temples (Панайотова *et al.* 2012b, 240 fig. 2)

Our knowledge of Apollonia during the Classical and Hellenistic periods is limited for the city (see recent summary in Nedev & Panayotova 2003, 103–6; Гюзелев 2009, 125–9; Nedev & Gyuzelev 2010). Rescue excavations on Skamny peninsula reveal snippets of a densely occupied urban area with *pastas* and *peristyle* type houses, arranged in an orthogonal plan. There are two 'monumental' buildings with a likely public or commercial purpose (65 Ribarska Street; 17 Kiril i Metodii Street; Figure 3.8). Two furnaces related to metal-production on the east edge of the peninsula, and two 4th-century ceramic kilns at the northern end, indicate concentrations of industrial activity. The city also had a sophisticated water supply system, including a series of wells and cisterns across Skamny peninsula, a water pipe from across Kalfata.

Figure 3.8. Excavated sites on Skamny Peninsula

Table 2. 7th- and 6th- century sites at Apollonia(data from Nedev & Panayotova 2003, 99ff.; Гюзелев 2009; Nikov 2012) ; LM= Little Masters; Kl=Klazomenai; TA= transport amphorae

N.	Site	Date	Context	Grey ware	Hand made	Middle Wild Goat II	Bird Bowls	Late Wild Goat	Fikellura	Black Figure	Other	Slag
1	2 Milet Str. (Taliata, Fortifications)	610-540	layer, structure (part)	GW	HM	MWGII	BB	LWG	F	BF	TA	slag
2	Antique residential complex	575-500	Layer	GW		MWGII	BB	LWG		BF (LM)	Corinthian	slag
3	Morski Skali Str	575-550	layer, 2 pits, structure (part)	GW	HM			LWG	F	BF (LM)		slag
4	Isthmus (Kulturen Dom and Sea Garden sites)	550-550	stray finds					?		BF		
5	9 Drava Str.	575-545	Pit	GW				LWG	F	BF		
6	Sumilev House	575-525	layer and structure	GW			BB	LWG		BF (LM), Kl		slag
7	The Old Carpentry	575-525	layer with plaster	GW	HM			LWG	F	BF (LM)	Corinthian	slag
8	27 Anaximander Str.	575-525	Pit	GW				LWG		BF		
9	Orpheus	580-525	3 pits	GW				LWG	F	BF		
10	Antique residential complex	575-525	pit	GW				LWG	F	BF (Kl)		
11	29 Anaximander Str.	580-520	pit	GW				LWG	F	BF (LM)		
12	German's House	550-525	pit	GW				LWG	F	BF (LM)		slag
13	Zormalieva House	550-500	pit	GW						BF (LM)		
14	82 Apollonia Str.	n/a						LWG	F	BF		
15	SE of Thracian house site	n/a	structure (part)					?				
16	N of St George church	n/a										
17	Harmanite Military Block	n/a	chance find							BF		
18	Anaximander and Apollonia Str. junction	n/a	chance find							BF		
	St Kyrik island		structures	GW	HM	WG?	BB	WG?	F	BF	TA	slag
	Port											
	"Old Town"				HM					BF		

We have more archaeological evidence for Apollonia's surroundings and the cemetery, which we will examine in the next section. Between the 5th and 3rd century, the necropolis of Apollonia stretched south and away from the city, in Kalfata, Boudzhaka, and Kavatsite localities (Figure 3.2). The most dramatic expansion of the cemetery, around the mid-5th century, coincided with the establishment of farms or wine estates in the surrounding countryside – e.g. at Messarite, used between the mid-5th and early 3rd century (Панайотова *et al.* 2012a, 2013a, 2014a).

Discussion

During its first century Apollonia quickly morphed from a settlement of pit houses to one with monumentalising construction projects. What does the architecture of Apollonia tell us about its cultural contacts, and what do these changes mean in social terms? To address these questions, we need to look at Apollonia in relation to its wider regional context.

Dugouts like the earliest structures at Apollonia were common in many contemporary north Pontic *apoikiai* such as Kerkanitis, Berezan, Chersonesos, Pantikapaion, Gorgippia (Treister & Vinogradov 1993; Tsetskhladze 1998b, 20). These structures probably served various functions as houses, storage spaces, workshops, etc. But most frequently scholars have interpreted them as dwellings, and they have debated the ethnic and cultural identity of their inhabitants: Greek settlers or indigenous people. In a recent evaluation of the arguments, Jakub Szamałek (2012, 88–92) shows that this debate does not lead to productive conclusions. Dugout structures were made by many societies in the modern and ancient world, including communities in inner Thrace (see Chapter II) and the north Aegean (Petropoulos 2005, 39). Since hardly any of the ancient dugouts have been published comprehensively, it is futile to look for detailed distinctions between different building traditions. Instead, Szamałek proposes a functionalist ethnographically-informed perspective. Across the world, partly subterranean dwellings tend to be constructed in regions with severe winters, and constitute settlements of usually up to 100 people. Pit structures are easy to build with few materials, and provide good insulation, but they do not last long. In this light, the dugout structures at Apollonia and elsewhere around the Black Sea can be understood in practical terms: they required minimal resources and provided temporary shelter for the early settlers.

Around the middle of the 6th century the ephemeral dugout structures changed into houses on stone foundations, arranged along a paved street with a drain. This transformation

occurred roughly contemporaneously with the introduction of stone architecture in other Pontic cities such as Berezan, Nymphaion, Pantikapaion, Phanagoria, Tarikos, Kepoi, Olbia (Petropoulos 2005, 37–9). Although each of these towns followed its own trajectory of development in diverse circumstances, they all show signs of increasing permanence of architecture, and increasing investment in communal infrastructure through the 6th century. This process stopped at the coast: as we saw in Chapter II, contemporary Thracian settlements looked very different; paved streets and stone buildings only appeared inland in the 5th century (cf. Krastevich).

The gradual formalisation of urban space in Archaic Apollonia culminated with the erection of the temple around 500 BC. It was a permanent and monumental building which was visible from sea and land, sending a message to the passing ships and to the inhabitants of Apollonia. The temple provided a focal point and space for communal activity, and it became an important element of the emerging community identity of Apollonia. The temple also finds parallels in the north Black Sea. Its plan and size strongly resemble the Archaic temple in the west *temenos* of Olbia, which was housed the cult to Apollo Ietros and Apollo Delpheinos, among other deities (Rusajeva 2003, 94 fig. 1).

The developments at Apollonia in the Archaic period are part of a broader trend among settlements around the Pontic basin. Distant cities went through similar architectural changes, which suggests that their communities were going through similar transformations. Building paved streets and monumental structures requires the pooling of communal resources (labour, materials, skill). Such resources might be channelled through different social structures, e.g. through a council, or through individual agency. The social structure behind these trends probably differed in each community, but the resulting cities were similar across the Pontic littoral, and allowed a way of living and worshipping the gods that was distinctive from what was happening in the hinterland.

Over the Classical and Hellenistic period Apollonia's layout developed along similar lines to its mother city Miletos: a city surrounded by a band of fertile land, followed by a circle of mineral-rich hills, and a necropolis stretching between the coastline and the road (Greaves 2002, 89). The fact that Apollonians could develop their city in a familiar way and expand their cemetery untroubled speaks for their good relations with the surrounding communities, as the excavators have argued (Nedev & Panayotova 2003, 100).

Apollonia's expansion towards the countryside can be interpreted as a sign of prosperity: the new farms used more agricultural land, and likely offered more produce for local consumption and/or trade. The appearance of farms also signals a social choice, conditioned by political circumstances. In the period between c. 450 BC and the early 3rd century, it must have been economically viable and sufficiently safe for farms to exist outside the city.

The brief review of the chronological development shows that Apollonia gradually grew and prospered. Modest dugouts turned into mudbrick houses of recognisable 'Greek' forms, the city built a temple, and other elements of public infrastructure. In these respects Apollonia stood apart from contemporary Thracian settlements and the way of life they afforded. To use the terminology introduced in Chapter I, for most people from inner Thrace, Apollonia was 'a zone of difference'.

2. Religious and Funerary practice

Let us now examine how lines of identity and difference were drawn in the religious and funerary sphere.

2.1. Religion

A range of deities were worshipped at Apollonia, even though in most cases the evidence about their cults is limited. A fragmentary inscription from the 5th – 4th century mentions the *megaron* of Gea Chthonia (*IGBulg* I^2 398); another inscription lists functionaries serving in the mysteries of Dionysos (*IGBulg* I^2 401). A dedicatory *graffito* to Syrian Aphrodite (*SEG* 54:630) led excavators to identify her temple in a two-room structure with platforms and traces of burning at the Old Carpentry site (Figure 3.8), dating around 450–425 BC (Nedev & Panayotova 2003, 103; Гюзелев 2009, 125–6). A dedication from Artemidoros to Hekate (*SEG* 54:631) was scratched on a statue base found alongside an altar in a building with various religious paraphernalia (a zoomorphic *kernos,* terracottae) and 3rd – 2nd century pottery (Nedev & Panayotova 2003, 121).

Another sanctuary functioned on the rocky cliffs of Skamny Cape between the early 6th and 3rd century (Панайотова *et al.* 2012c). Pre-Roman material was deposited in natural hollows and on the rocks, the most common objects being female terracotta figurines and miniature vessels. These finds and the location led the excavators to interpret the site as a

shrine to Demeter and Kore and to compare it to other such Pontic and Aegean sites (cf. Cronkite 1997).

The most prominent vestiges of cult at Apollonia, however, come from the sanctuary of Apollo Ietros (Healer) on St Kirik (Панайотова *et al.* 2010, 2011, 2012b, 2014b). The earliest evidence of religious practice are the sacrificial pits (*bothroi*) filled with animal bones and various votive objects. Dedicatory *graffiti* name the main deity worshipped here: Apollo Ietros[29]; they give confidence in reading many of the short IH/HI inscriptions from the site as dedicatory (Figure 3.11). A temple and an altar of limestone ashlars were erected at St Kirik in the late 6th or early 5th century (Figure 3.7 and Figure 3.9). The temple measures about 7 x 12 m, and judging by the surviving floorplan, its façade was *distyle in antis* (Панайотова *et al*. 2010, 295). The surviving terracotta and marble decorations find parallels in Miletos, Didyma, and Histria (Panayotova *et al.* 2014, 596).

These data indicate that the cult practices, and the deities worshipped at Apollonia comfortably fit in the 'Greek' religious repertoire. However, there are some crucial local features, most clearly manifested in the cult of Apollo Ietros. The cult of the patron-god contributed to the creation of a distinctive community identity at Apollonia in several ways. The temple provided a physical focus for communal activity in the city. The image of the god and his statue became city badges used on coins, which suggests they were also a point of pride for Apollonians.

At a regional level the temple of Apollo Ietros looks very modest by 5th century Mediterranean standards (cf. Osborne 2009, 249–50 Table 7), but it fits as an average example among Pontic temples, which often had a similar size and plan (see Table 3). With possible exceptions, like Apollo's temple on the acropolis of Pantikapaion (of which no foundations survive), Pontic temples appear to have been small.

[29] Ietros is Ionian dialect for Iatros (Ustinova 2009, 245). The *graffiti* employ the Ionian spelling, Ἰητρός (Figure 3.11), whereas the coins are inscribed ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΙΑΤΡΟΥ (Figure 3.10).

Figure 3.9. Archaic temple and altar on St Kirik (Панайотова *et al.* 2010, 296 fig. 1)

Figure 3.10. Apollo Ietros statue, on an Apollonian coin (Baralis & Hermary 2010, 15 fig. 4)

Table 3. Temples around the Black Sea (data from Krizhitskiy 2010 and cit. lit.)

Date	Location & deity	Plan	Columns	Stylobate size (m)
early 5c	Apollonia – Apollo Ietros		2	c. 12 x 7
early 5c	Olbia – Apollo Ietros		n/a	15 x 7.39
4c	Pantikapaion		2 (?)	10.20 x 7.45
	Pantikapaion Necropolis	distyle in antis	2 (?)	
	Chersonesos – Ionic temple		4	10.50 x 4.80
Hellenistic	Taman *tholos*	round	8 (+2nd circle?)	14.40 (int. diam)
Hellenistic	Olbia – Zeus	anti/pro style	2 (?)	15.30 x 7.80
280-250 BC-325 AD	Dionysopolis – Kybele (Meter Pontia)	distyle in antis	2	11.40 x 8.70
2-1c BC	Kepoi – Aphrodite	n/a	2	10 x 7.50

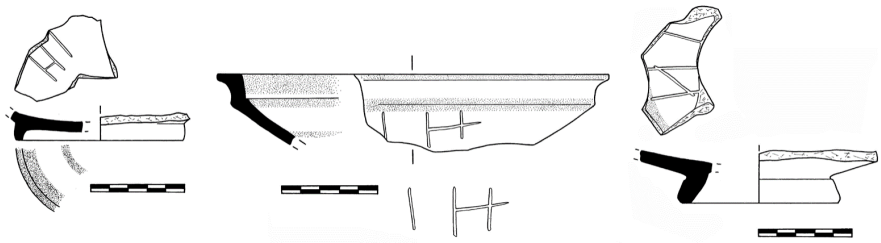

Figure 3.11. Dedicatory *graffiti* to Apollo Ietros from St Kirik (after Панайотова *et al.* 2010, 297 fig. 2)

The real locus of ostentation at Apollonia was the 13-metre tall bronze statue of Apollo. Later sources report that it was commissioned to Kalamis, a reputed 5th-century Athenian sculptor, and constituted a major material investment (500 talents) (Pliny 34.18; Strabo 7.6.1). The statue was depicted on 2nd-century silver coins (Figure 3.10) attributed to Apollonia (see Baralis & Hermary 2010, 15 for iconographic parallels; Stephanova 1985, 277–9; Герасимов 1965). The choice to show the statue on Hellenistic coins broadcast the message that Apollonia was wealthy to a wide audience of everyone who used those coins (although perhaps ironically, as Apollonia advertised its wealth in the early Hellenistic period, it was undergoing economic hardship). Within Apollonia, the statue served as a city badge and another focal point of community identity.

Apollo Ietros probably was a Pontic deity honoured at Apollonia, and a number of Pontic cities (Berezan, Hermonassa, Histria, Myrmecaeum, Olbia, Pantikapaion, Phanagoria, and Tyras), but not at their mother city Miletos. This led scholars to argue that his cult developed and spread in Pontic Ionian communities *after* 'colonisation' (Konova 2006; Chiekova 2008, 16–37; Ustinova 2009). The counter-argument that Apollo Ietros existed in Ionia prior to Pontic settlements (Ehrhardt 1989) relies on indirect and late sources. In fact, inscriptions mentioning Apollo Ietros and theophoric names appear beyond the Pontic basin only in the 5th – 4th century (e.g., *SEG* 55:1477, cf. *LGPN*).

The cult of Apollo Ietros as a Pontic deity, reinforced bonds among Pontic Ionians as a specific community of Greeks, adding to their shared dialect and mythical origin. This kind of Ionian kinship was an important ideological resource which Apollonia used for forming alliances, as we saw above. Some scholars even propose that Apollo Ietros developed as a syncretic deity. Pontic Ionians allegedly combined Greek Apollo, who accommodates the role of healer, with an indigenous cult of the divine healer and archer – Zalmoxis in Thrace or Abaris in Skythia (Ustinova 2009). This view introduces an

intriguing hybridity to Apollonia, which in other respects looks like a Greek island within Thrace.

The evidence for syncretism however is indirect and unconvincing. For example, Ustinova uses Plato's statements that the physicians of Zalmoxis were named *iatroi* to infer what Pontic Greeks knew about the pantheon of their indigenous neighbours (*Charmides* 156D-157B; 158B). She also argues that syncretism was possible because Apollo was familiar in Thrace, judging by evidence from the 4th century onwards (Ustinova 2009, 278–89); but we do not know if that applies to the 6th century. Elsewhere Ustinova surmises that "Thracian spirituality, their fame as healers and the use of arrows in the cult of Zalmoxis would be sufficient to prompt the Greeks a comparison with their own divine healer, Apollo the archer" (Ustinova 2009, 273–4, *sic*) – which is possible, but indemonstrable. Finally, Ustinova evokes Apollo Derainos of Abdera as a putative precedent of Thracian-Greek syncretism: Derainos derives from a toponym, allegedly linked to the local tribe, Derainoi (Ustinova 2009, 279 and further references). The connection is indirect, and the case is different to that of Apollo.

In fact, the story about Skythian prince Skyles, who worshipped like a Greek at Olbia, and eventually met his death for it (Herodotos 4.18), conveys that sometimes there were strict boundaries between cultures in the religious sphere, and transgressing them was dangerous and socially unacceptable for the Skythians. Even if the story reflects Herodotos' agenda rather than actual Skythian attitudes (Hartog 1988, 82–102; 126–7), it still shows that we cannot generalise about Thracian-Greek religious interactions at Apollonia from other cases. Whether or not Apollo Ietros was a hybrid deity remains an open question.

To summarise, the archaeological and epigraphic evidence from Apollonia shows that a range of Greek deities were worshipped and the patron god of the city, Apollo Ietros, took a particularly prominent place. His cult was formative of a community identity, and his bronze colossus advertised the wealth of Apollonia to any passing ship and any person who saw the Hellenistic coins.

The votive inscription from 'a Knidian' (Figure 3.11) hints at the variety of people at Apollonia. The presence of Thracians remains elusive, although the silence of the evidence is not necessarily evidence of absence. Thracian cult is not easily recognisable, partly due to the state of the evidence, and partly due to its subtle practices – how would one

recognise 'Thracian' and 'Greek' modes of feasting, sacrifice, and deposition? Such a quest would be theoretically problematic, and practically unfeasible.

2.2. Cemeteries

The cemeteries provide multifarious data for identity politics, community, and cultural contacts at Apollonia. The Archaic-period cemetery is partly buried under the modern town and the marina. The surviving remains include a few preserved but unpublished graves and de-contextualised objects and grave markers. Scholars posit that Archaic Apollonia was prosperous, and some of its citizens used grave markers for social distinction (Петрова 2010) judging by three relief-decorated stelae from the late 6th – early 5th century (*IGBulg* I^2 404, 425) and especially the marble stele of Deines (*IGBulg* I^2 405, V 5143), which might be an Ionian import (Laugier 2015, 292). Unfortunately, we do not know how these stelae fit in the Archaic cemetery.

We have richer data for the Classical-period cemetery. Excavations reveal that c. 450 BC Apollonia's necropolis rapidly expanded to the south along Kalfata, Boudjaka and Kavatsite areas (Figure 3.2). So far excavations have produced over 2000 graves (Венедиков 1948; 1963; preliminary reports by Panayotova *et al*. through the 1990s-2000s; Docter *et al.* 2010; Hermary *et al.* 2010). Using these burials, we can examine how Apollonians performed their funerary identities.

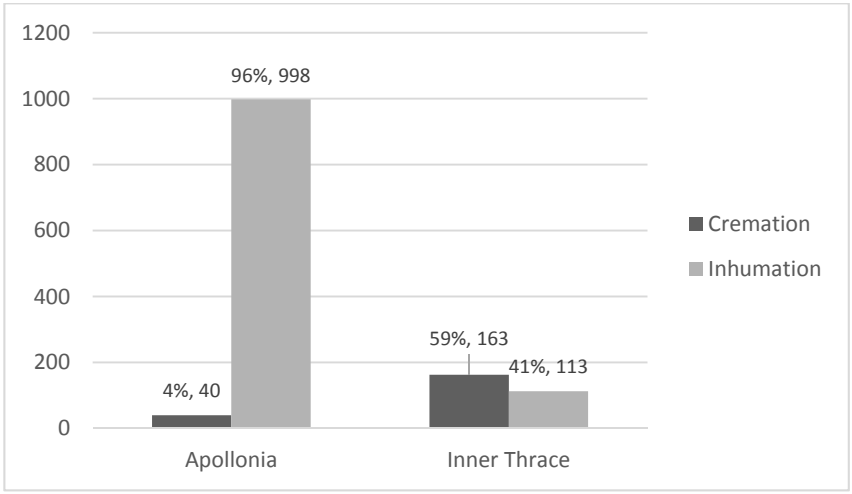

Figure 3.12. Burial rites at Apollonia and in Thrace (data from Baralis 2010, 144 Table 8; Венедиков 1963; Панайотова 1998)

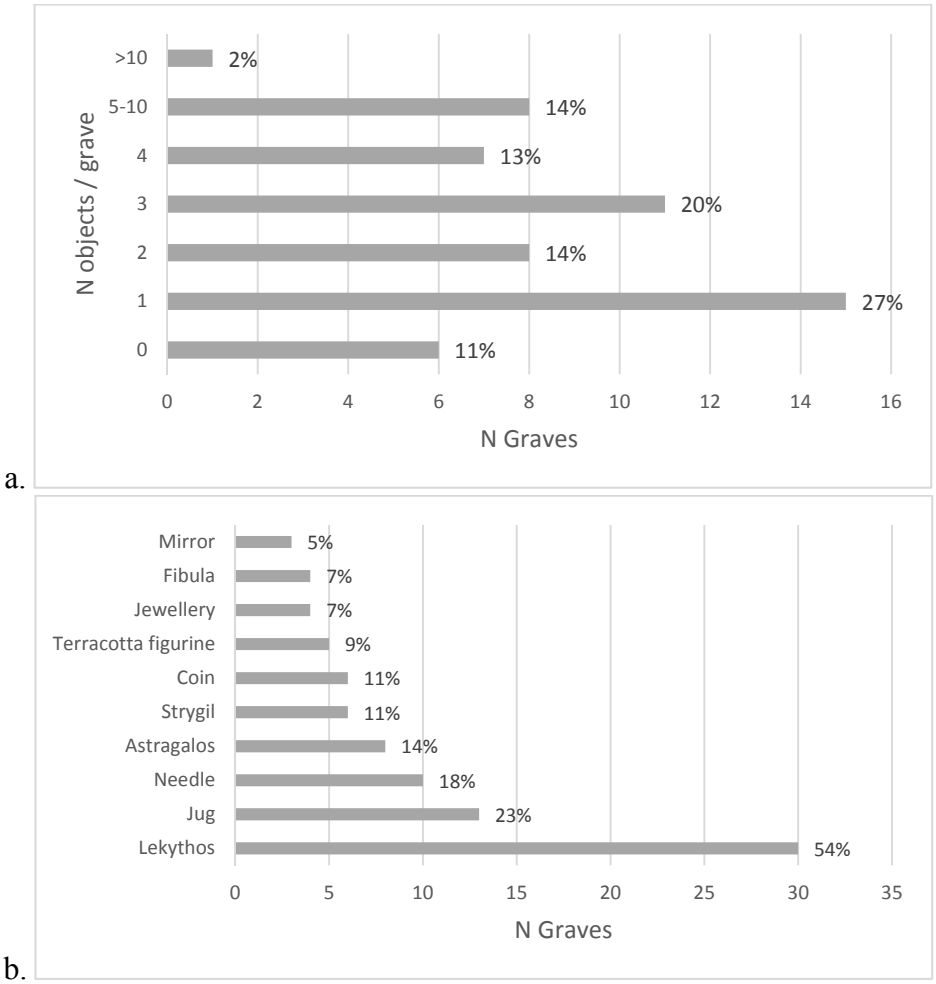

Figure 3.13. Number and types of objects in Apollonian graves (n=56 graves, data from Baralis 2010)

Most burials from the Classical necropolis of Apollonia are strikingly uniform: 96% were inhumations (Figure 3.12), the vast majority laid in supine position (96%), with heads to the east (75%) (Панайотова 1998, 15). The body was usually placed in a simple pit with a few, or no grave goods (Figure 3.13a). The most common and often the only object is the *lekythos*, a perfume jar used to anoint the body of the deceased in the 'Greek' tradition. Other common grave goods include ceramic jugs, astragaloi, and other small objects (Figure 3.13a).

Against this homogeneous background, some graves have more objects than others (Figure 3.13a) and occasionally contain adornments, bronze *strigils* and mirrors (Figure 3.13b), which could be considered signs of wealth. Variation also occurs in the mortuary rite (contracted inhumation, cremation) and grave structures. Cremations appear in the 4th century and become increasingly frequent c. 350–300 BC (Damyanov 2012a, 49). Graves lined with or covered by roof tiles also appear around the mid-4th century (Панайотова

1998, 13). Certain grave structures (e.g. ashlar graves) tend to cluster in certain areas, and the cemetery is sub-divided into burial plots that probably belonged to separate families.

Some graves stand out among the flat Apollonian cemetery: groups of burial mounds are dotted along the margins of the Apollonian necropolis, at Mapite, St Ilia, and St Marina hills, and Kolokita Cape (Панайотова 1994; Damyanov 2012a). Chamber tombs were found at Kolokita under Mounds 9 (Миков 2008) and 10 (Кацарова 2007; Кацарова & Петкова 2008; Кацарова & Стоянова 2009), at Harmanite (Nedev & Panayotova 2003, 130), and at Mapite. The tomb at Mapite was well-preserved: two bodies, crowned with gold wreaths and gilded fruit, were laid in stone-slab cists in the dromos and the chamber (Seure 1924, 335–6).

Other unusual graves include an ashlar structure in Harmanite, containing a thick ash layer, and 10 red-figured *kraters* dated c. 360–340 BC (Цанева 1982; Reho 1990 Nos. 138–44), possibly from a collective cremation (Nedev & Panayotova 2003, 132).

Another group of burial mounds stands on Kolokita Cape, 2 km south of Apollonia. Around a dozen mounds were erected in several bouts in the 390s, 370s and 330s BC. Ten mounds were partially excavated in the late 19th – early 20th century (Seure 1924); rescue excavations uncovered another mound in the 1980s (Tzaneva 1985, 1986), and three more in 2006–2007 (Божкова & Петрова 2007, 2008; Кацарова 2007; Кацарова & Петкова 2008; Миков 2008). These mounds have been published in preliminary reports, and recently re-appraised by Margarit Damyanov (2005).

The best preserved mound, excavated in the 1980s, covered one central grave: a structure of rubble stones with a wood cover or coffin. It contained an inscribed ceramic bowl,[30] a bronze mirror, and two alabastra (Цанева 1986). The excavator considered this grave a cenotaph, but it might have been a secondary cremation similar to the graves at St Ilia (Damyanov 2005, 216). It seems that the burial was accompanied by a large feast or a series of smaller events. About 120 amphorae were arranged in two semi-circles in the mound's periphery (laying down on the west and throats-up on the east side), and there were a number of hearths, which in Damyanov's view indicate that hundreds of people

[30] Bowls inscribed in a similar way were found more recently in the periphery of a grave mound in Harmanite (Панайотова *et al.* 2008).

partook in the funeral (Damyanov 2012a, 51). Some amphorae however stood at different levels (Цанева 1983, 46), suggesting they were deposited at different stages; the overall stratigraphic relations are unclear. The amphora stamps date the burial and piling of the mound to the early 370s BC (Damyanov 2011). Several decades later another individual was inhumed in a sarcophagus grave cut into the mound, accompanied by a red-figure *lekythos*, two *strigils*, and two bronze rings. Damyanov suggested that the primary grave with the mirror belonged to a woman, and the secondary grave with the *strigil* – to a man.

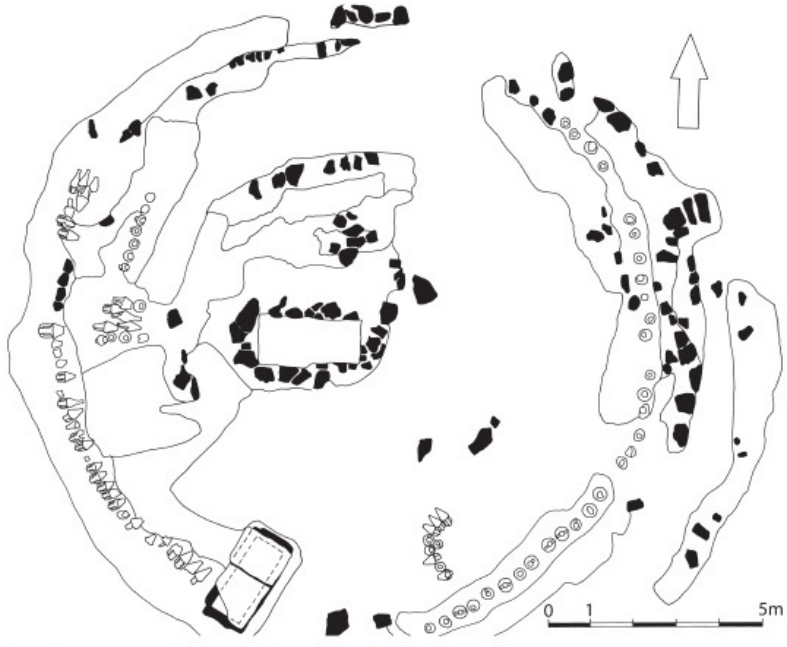

Figure 3.14. Kolokita, the mound excavated by Tzaneva in the 1980s (Damyanov 2005, 215 fig.2)

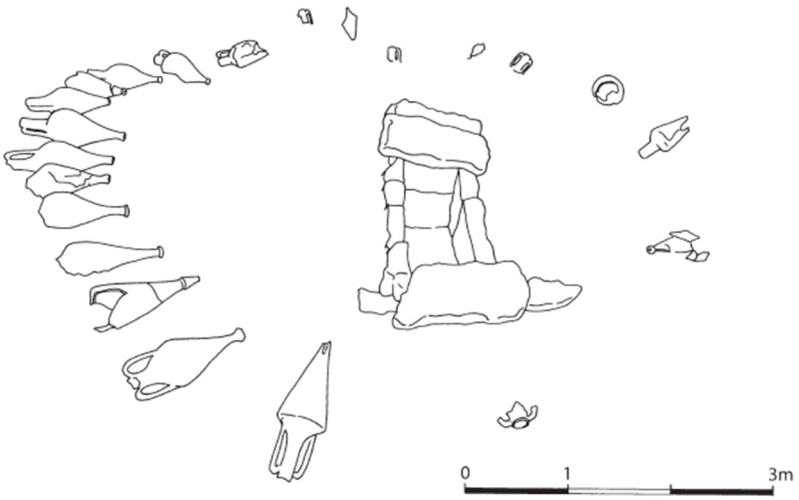

Figure 3.15. Kalfata, Grave 368 (Damyanov 2005, 216 fig. 3; after Венедиков 1963 обр. 25)

We find elements of a similar arrangement in other tumuli: e.g., Mound 4 covered 112 amphorae and a sarcophagus with a cremation in a black-glazed table amphora (Seure 1924, 328–35). Of the mounds excavated in 2006–7, Mound 8 contained amphorae, a stone circle and no other structures (Божкова & Петрова 2007, 2008). Finally, one similar grave was also found in Kalfata area (Figure 3.15): a stone cist inhumation surrounded by 27 amphorae (Венедиков 1963, 41). These mounds, described in less detail, probably also date to the 4th century (Seure 1924, 328–35; Damyanov 2005, 216).

Previous literature has interpreted the homogeneous appearance of Apollonian burials as compliance to 'Greek' traditions (Панайотова 1998; Damyanov 2012a), and deviations from 'the norm' have been seen as markers of 'Thracian' identity. Venedikov for example believed contracted inhumations to be Thracian burials and cremations – a sign of Thracian influence (Венедиков 1963, 13, 16). Maria Tzaneva believed the Kolokita mounds were elite Thracian graves, like inland burial mounds (Цанева 1986). However, each of these deviant elements occurs in some part of the Greek world, and the normative 'Apollonian' extended inhumation occurs in Thrace (cf. Chapter II). Thracian-type fibulae and an animal-style belt-buckle have also been evoked as ethnic markers (Damyanov 2012a, 48 n. 69; see also Младенова 1963a, 295; Цанева 1975, 1977, 50). But all these objects indicate is that Apollonia had links to metal workshops and fashions from inner Thrace.

Looking for 'Thracian' and 'Greek' burials according to a pre-set norm is a misleading strategy. Instead, we should examine how groups created norms, and how individuals conformed or deviated from them in order to perform specific identities.[31] We also need to appreciate that the homogeneity or diversity of burial practice can be caused by many factors, including the biological and social aspects of the deceased including their age, sex, gender, social status, social group allegiance, ethnicity, cause of death, social convention, and the will of the living to respect or refute tradition. At a community level, burial uniformity can be the mark of a homogeneous community (Nedev & Panayotova 2003, 139). *or* a community with a homogenising ideology (Damyanov 2012a, 50).

[31] Damyanov (2012a) has already made an important step in this direction through study of normative and non-normative west Pontic burials. But he focused on how graves might reflect social structure, rather than on the active construction of identity.

One plausible explanation is that most Apollonian graves are modest, uniform inhumations, because the city curtailed ostentatious burials and monuments by legislation (Петрова 2010). From the early 5th to the early 2nd century, among the numerous grave markers from Apollonia, there are none with relief decoration. This contrasts with the elaborate Archaic *stelae* from Apollonia, and contemporary evidence from other Pontic cities. Also, by contrast with contemporary burials in Odesos and Mesambria, the early Hellenistic graves of Apollonia contain no gold jewellery (Damyanov 2012a, 49). These facts are tentatively linked to Aristotle's remark that "after bringing in additional settlers, the people of Apollonia Pontica fell into faction" (*Politics* 5.3.1303a), and that the oligarchic system was disrupted by factions (*Politics* 5.6.1306a). Hence, it is suggested, Apollonia limited funerary wealth displays in order to reduce social tension (Петрова 2010, 268; Damyanov 2012a, 50).

We cannot be certain whether the uniformity of Classical-period burials at Apollonia resulted from imposed legislation, peer-pressure to conform, or another hegemonic mechanism. We also do not know if the uniform burial rites were intended to 'mask' economic disparity (following a Marxian logic) or cultural diversity. Whatever the cause, the homogeneous Apollonian cemetery creates the impression of a city with a strong community identity and strict burial traditions.

Besides austerity, funerary practice at Apollonia has several other idiosyncratic features that emerge in comparison to other cemeteries, especially neighbouring Mesambria. As we saw, the most ubiquitous grave good at Apollonia is the *lekythos*; in Mesambria, the role of preferred grave good is taken by female terracotta figurines (Damyanov 2012a, 58). Mesambria also lacks the hearths, which are interspersed among the graves at Apollonia, and probably hosted funerary and commemorative feasts (Damyanov 2012a, 58). These hearths and accompanying deposits contain food remains,[32] pottery, and occasionally other small objects (Hermary & Columeau 2010, 151–65).

[32] Food includes fruit, nuts, and burnt bread (Панайотова & Попова 2012); meat, especially young ovicaprids and pigs; chickens; clams and sea snails (Hermary & Columeau 2010, 173–4).

Figure 3.16. Pots and fish-grill from Hearth 9, Kalfata (Hermary *et al.* 2010 Pl. 76b)

One idiosyncratic object from the hearths are the so-called fish-grills (Figure 3.16; Seure 1924, 334–5; Венедиков 1963, 264–6; Hermary & Columeau 2010, 171–3; Claquin 2013). These devices appear through the 4th and early 3rd century in many, but not all cemetery deposits. They are not known from any other site (Панайотова & Попова 2012), nor urban contexts in Apollonia (Claquin 2013). Hence, the fish-grills are unique to Apollonia's funerary and commemorative food practices. This is intriguing, considering that funerary food is often laden with rich symbolism. In many societies certain foods are made especially for burials/rememberance occasions, or they are an obligatory part of such events – for instance, the Mexican *Pan de Muertos,* boiled wheat among Balkan Orthodox Christians, and funerary biscuits in early 20th century Yorkshire (Davidson 2014, 333–4). The Apollonian fish-grills might have been part of one such tradition. Moreover, ethnographic studies show that food, and particularly funerary food, is an important anchor of traditional identity; different religious and ethnic groups in contemporary America have very distinctive funerary feasts, rooted in their cultural norms (Thursby 2006, 79–115). The use of fish grills appears to have been one such traditional element for Apollonians, alongside other objects and practices, which contributed to constructing and maintaining an idiosyncratic Apollonian identity.

Apollonian funerary practices appear to be a local variant of Greek mortuary traditions with certain idiosyncratic features. Burial at Apollonia result from a largely homogeneous set of traditions, with some room for individual preference. This creates the impression of a strong community identity, more visible than expressions of individual identity. As a result, any mix of people – 'Thracian', 'Greek', and other – is rendered archaeologically

invisible in the necropolis of Apollonia. A similar point has been made before: Damyanov (2012a, 49, 62) notes that indigenous persons are invisible, without addressing why; according to Krastina Panayotova (pers. comm.) we cannot see the Thracians at Apollonia, because "they were Hellenised". However, the stress of my argument is that we understand the necropolis of Apollonia better not as a site of 'Hellenisation', but as an arena where the community identity of Apollonia was established and reproduced through the sustained practice of many families over time.

Within this picture, the mound burials at the fringes of the flat cemetery are both spatial and social outliers. It has been suggested that Kolokita was a special burial ground, for cenotaphs of distinguished citizens who died far away – hence why some mounds did not contain burials (Божкова & Петрова 2007, 247). In further support of this idea, Panayotova (2010b, 46) evokes a copper box inscribed "from the Apollonian people", reportedly found on Kolokita (Шкорпил & Шкорпил 1891, 126). She notes however that the mounds dug in the 2000s, which appear as cenotaphs, might have been partially excavated a century earlier, which would explain the lack of surviving burials. In other words, the cenotaph hypothesis requires more secure evidence than we currently have.

To understand the mounds at Kolokita, we need to consider their historical and geographical context. The burial mounds appeared through the 4th century when Apollonian mortuary practice diversified with the introduction of cremation, tile, and cist graves (Панайотова 1998). The mounds are thus part of a wider phenomenon with many potential causes: changing attitudes to death, relaxation of norms, increasing population diversity, etc.

Tumuli with amphora circles have been found in other Pontic *apoikiai*, including Olbia, Orgame, Pantikapaion, and Nymphaion (Damyanov 2005). On this basis, Damyanov refuted the old interpretation that Kolokita is a 'Thracian' cemetery (contra Tzaneva 1985, 1986), and argued that these burials belonged to "the aristocracy of the *polis*" which followed a ritual of tumular burial, inspired by the epic tradition – specifically, Patroklos' funeral from the *Illiad,* an interpretation originally proposed for Nymphaion (Damyanov 2005, 222; following Силантьева 1959; Lungu 2002). Damyanov argued that the contemporary appearance of such burials across the Pontic shores is symptomatic of a social stratum across the cities involved, which shared ideas and status. Piling the mounds on Kolokita required much more labour than digging a simple grave pit. Such resources, and the license to bury the dead differently from the rest of the populace, are usually the

privilege of elite social groups.[33] The appearance of the mounds across the Pontic area also suggests to me an air of competition and mutual display of power among the elites from different cities. The argument about a Pontic elite community need not exclude a mixing of different funerary traditions. Perhaps the burial traditions of indigenous Pontic peoples – Thracians and Skythians – also contributed to the decision to conduct a mound burial. The longevity of these monuments and their prominent location would have invited many and divergent stories. To viewers who knew the landscape of inner Thrace, the mounds at Kolokita would evoke ideas of 'Thracian' elite display. For those familiar with Homeric epic, tumular burial might evoke mythical heroism.

As we have seen, the burial traditions of Apollonia show the construction of a funerary identity that comfortably fits in a 'Greek' repertoire, but through their standardised outlook, the burials also display a strong community identity with certain idiosyncratic features. The burial mounds around the flat cemetery show an alternative identity discourse through which the deceased participated in an elite Pontic community.

3. Literacy

The epigraphic data from Apollonia elucidate to what extent literacy was spread, and what writing was used for in the city. Inscriptions are fairly common at Apollonia, in contrast to inner Thrace.

Stone inscriptions from Apollonia are collected in *IGBulg* and *SEG*, the onomastic data are included in *LGPN*, and *graffiti* occasionally appear in excavation reports and various other publications. One group of texts which I mentioned in the section on religion comprises dedications: one cup, dedicated to Apollo Ietros by 'a Knidian', c. 600–575 BC and some 50 short *graffiti* reading IH/HI – abbreviated dedications to the same god (Figure 3.11) were found on St Kirik; another cup from Skamny peninsula was dedicated to Syrian Aphrodite by Xamoi (*SEG* 54:630), and one statue-base was inscribed from Artemidoros

[33] If the hundreds of amphorae in the mounds are the remains of a feast along with the hearths across the bigger mounds, then these mounds involved even more resources. Before extrapolating further into the realm of conspicuous consumption, we would need to ascertain the chronology and scale of these events – which at present is impossible.

to Hekate (*SEG* 54:631). These dedicatory inscriptions show that the epigraphic habit was integral to cult in Apollonia, like elsewhere in the Greek world.

Another Hellenistic-period decree found on St Kirik (*IGBulg* I² 469bis) speaks of Apollonia's dealings with a certain Kotys, son of Taroulas, who owned property near "the grave of Mostis" – presumably the mound of a local person known to Apollonians. The fragmentary inscription allows different hypothetical readings (Гюзелев 2009, 139–40) and shows that Apollonians regulated dealings with their neighbours through written decrees. Inscriptions from Histria (*IScM* I 15) and Mesambria (*IGBulg* I² 307; V 5086) show this was common practice in the Hellenistic period and perhaps even earlier: in the Mesambrian document, the city gives a local ruler, Sadalas, citizenship, honours, annual tribute of 50 talents, the right to sail in and out of the harbour; the text also mentions the stelai of Sadalas' forefathers, who presumably had similar contracts.

Most epigraphic data from Apollonia are personal names from gravestones that usually cannot be linked to individual graves. LGPN lists 280 personal names from Apollonia between the Archaic and late Hellenistic period, mostly dating to the 5th–4th century. A comprehensive distribution analysis is beyond the scope of my thesis, but the observations of previous scholars show that many names are attested across the Greek world, some are particularly popular in Ionia: Mihailov (1979) cites a dozen. Five names from the 5th–4th century are identified as Thracian (Damyanov 2012a, 48 n. 69):

IGBulg I² 426.	Θεμισταγόρη daughter of **Αψινθιος**
430.	**Παιβινη** (f)
438.	Ἀπολλωνίς daughter of **Δισκους**
440.	Δισκορίδη daughter of **Βαστακιλης**
441.	Σιληνός son of **Σαμας**

These names appear in Detschew's (1957) lexicon, which sought to maximise the inventory of Thracian words and names, with an implicit Thracocentric/nationalistic agenda (see critical discussion of Thracian onomastics in Dana 2014, xii–xliii). Only three of these names appear in the recent *Onomasticon Thracicum* (Dana 2014): Βαστακιλης with multiple inland examples; Παιβινη with parallels in western Thrace/east Macedonia (Βαλλα 2001, 11; cf. *SEG* 30:590, 596); and Αψινθιος – an ambiguous case, deriving either from Thracian ethno/toponyms (Herodotos 6.34, 36–7; 9.119) or from the Greek plant name. Of the remaining two, Σαμας is a *hapax* without Thracian parallels; Δισκους could be a variant of Greek names like Diskoride, also attested at Apollonia (cf. *IGBulg* I² 440 above; Dan Dana pers. comm.).

How are we to interpret the onomastic data? Before drawing conclusions, we should note that the 280 extant names do not reflect the structure of Apollonia's population. Names do not necessarily reflect ethnicity. For example Thucydides' father had a Thracian name, Oloros (Thucydides 4.104.4). A name may emphasise a person's origin, social aspirations, affinity for a foreign culture, or a desire to fit in; we cannot know which factor was at play in each case. The names from Apollonia represent people whose families wanted and could afford to set up an inscribed gravestone.

The names therefore convey to what extent certain parts of the population had adopted an epigraphic habit and the practice of erecting inscribed gravestones. At a community scale, a mixed name assemblage reflects familiarity with and influence from foreign cultures and the presence of some people from different origins in a city, without revealing the identity of any particular individual.

The data from Apollonia conform to patterns observed elsewhere: women are less likely to enter the epigraphic record than women, and non-Greeks – less likely than Greeks (Szamałek 2012, 173–4). Assuming that men and women both constituted 50% of Apollonia's population, then female names (16%) are considerably under-represented than male names (84%).

The small proportion of Thracian names at Apollonia probably corresponds to a larger, epigraphically invisible population. This is unsurprising, considering that inland Thracian communities remained strangers to the epigraphic habit. Although low, the proportion of Thracian names at Apollonia (0.7%) is comparable to other Pontic cities, where non-Greek names comprise up to 4% (see Cojocaru 1995 for Callatis, Histria, Odesos, Tomis, from the 6th century to the late Roman period; Robert 1964 for Hellenistic and Roman Byzantion). The number at Apollonia might appear lower because there are fewer Hellenistic and Roman epitaphs. The higher percentage of non-Greek names in the Bosporan kingdom (10% overall, 17% in epitaphs) is considered unusual (Szamałek 2012, 198). These figures indicate that the people with Thracian names and epigraphic habit at Apollonia were few, like in other Pontic cities.

The mixed names, of Greek personal name and Thracian patronym, could attest to intermarriage, Thracians with an epigraphic habit, or cross-cultural use of names. Perhaps for some families it was important to assert a 'Thracian' or mixed identity on the epitaph of their dead, and this was accepted by the community. This is a general but important

point because cultural receptivity and integration are not a given. History has known situations where ethnic minorities have had their names forcibly changed by a dominant state, as the Bulgarian Turks in the 1980s, or they have been given a new name, e.g. black people being assigned 'slave names' in South Africa under Apartheid – in both of these cases names were a tool for violently changing a person's identity. In several European countries like Hungary, naming laws oblige parents to choose from an official list, which excludes foreign names or remakes them into Hungarian ones. Evidently the community in Apollonia was relatively accepting of foreignness, whilst also constructing a certain unity. Among the mixed names, there are no cases of a Thracian first name and a Greek patronym, which would suggest that Greek onomastic influence was stronger. In other ethnographic examples where one culture tends to adopt the names of another but not vice versa, there is often a difference in social status (Szamałek 2012, 202–6).

In sum, the onomastic record shows that there were some Thracians at Apollonia, although we do not know how many. Without assuming that any individual subscribed to the ethnic category of their name, the people of Apollonia linked their identities to the cultural traditions of Ionia, Thrace, and the rest of the Greek world. This confirms the long-acknowledged fact that *apoikai* were mixed settlements. More widely, the epigraphic data indicate that written dedications were common part of Apollonian religious practice, and literacy appears more widespread than in the Thracian interior.

4. Production

Economic activities can also elucidate the issues of identity and cultural contacts at Apollonia. We have three sources of data on production: industrial debris from the city, extraction sites, and the artefacts themselves.

4.1. Metal

The significance of metalworking to Apollonia's economy has been frequently evoked to argue that Apollonia was founded in order to access the copper ores of Medni Rid, and it prospered from exporting Thracian copper to the Mediterranean (see above, p. 130ff.).

Activities at the Medni Rid mines are attested by a few 6th-century Ionian potsherds (Лещаков & Класнаков 2011) and iron-working slag from the 4th – 2nd century (Наков & Шарп 2008). Slag is frequently found in Apollonia (Table 2) and one early 6th-century

structure on St Kirik has been identified as a metal workshop (Панайотова *et al.* 2012b, 239). A type of fibula with a twisted bow might have been locally produced around the mid-4th century (Vassileva 2014, 42).

These data document metal-production at Apollonia from its foundation, and early settlers probably acquired the ore they needed through exchange with locals, or had their agreement to use the mines. Claims that Apollonia exported ore, however, are currently non-falsifiable. Until more production evidence is studied systematically, many questions will remain open, especially regarding the scale and variety of metalworking and putative export.

4.2. Ceramics

It is long-established that most of the buff tableware, *lekythoi*, and other vessels from the cemetery were locally made. Apollonia also produced roof tiles (Дремсизова 1963; Димитров 1974; Kovachev *et al.* 2011; Stoyanova 2011). These production branches have yet to be studied in detail.

The monochrome grey pottery from Apollonia allows more discussion, since Krassimir Nikov (2012) catalogued the diagnostic sherds from Skamny peninsula (Table 2), and analysed their typological parallels. Many shapes trace their origins to production centres in Aeolis, the Troad, and Ionia (Nikov 2012, 113–50). Nikov noted particularly strong similarity to the greyware shapes at Daskyleion, which in turn were influenced by Aeolian, Phrygian, and Lydian traditions.

Nikov's typological analysis shows that strands from different potting traditions were cross-fertilised in multiple places. Potters in Ionia and Daskyleion had hybridised different greyware types, which were further mixed and developed at Apollonia. Part of this mixing at Apollonia might result from the presence of potters from different places, reinforcing my earlier argument that Apollonia was a community with diverse origins. Remembering that Apollonia was among the nodes through which greyware entered Thrace (see Chapter II), these observations highlight that, in fact, many technological traditions stand behind the blanket term of 'Greek' influence in Thrace.

One group of storage jars with relief bands and small lug handles (Figure 3.17) stand out as wheel-made versions of common Thracian hand-made shapes (Nikov 2012, 30–1). These pots are the result of technological exchange between potters from the Thracian and

west Anatolian traditions. This might have a wheel-working potter translating a hand-made prototype, or a 'Thracian' potter learning to make the same shape on the wheel. Making these jars on the wheel, a more efficient technique for serial, large-scale manufacture, implies that there was sufficient demand for such pots. The consumers might have been indigenous people, used to the shapes; but non-Thracians could equally have adopted these simple, versatile containers. These pots add to other 'Thracian' shapes that were translated into wheel-made vessels, like cups with high-slung handles (Figure 3.24). However, the Apollonian jars are utilitarian simple shapes, suggesting a different degree of integration of 'Thracian' material culture in domestic life at Apollonia. A larger study of the deposits is necessary to understand how they fitted in household contexts.

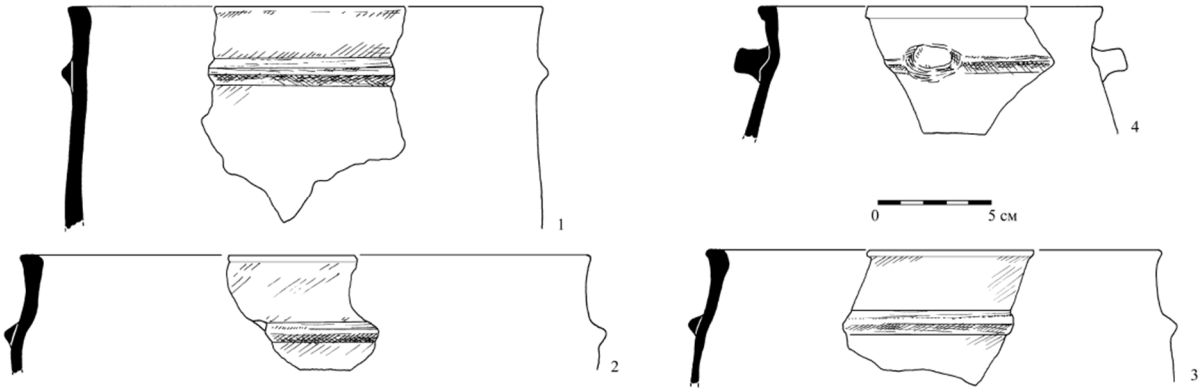

Figure 3.17. Grey-ware jars resembling Thracian hand-made shapes (Nikov 2012, 183 fig. 24.1–4)

In sum, the production evidence from Apollonia is limited, but the metalworking data testify to the extraction of ores from the surrounding and their processing in the city. The ceramics add weight to the argument that Apollonians (specifically potters) came from different places and brought different traditions. Apollonia was an entry-point for foreign skills and technologies which were then taken up in Thrace, like greyware pottery. I will revisit the uptake of greyware in hinterland communities below.

5. Trade

Having noted that Apollonia was the entry-point for new technologies such as greyware pottery into Thrace, this section continues to turn towards the hinterland and addresses commercial exchange between Apollonia, Thrace, and the wider world. Coins and amphorae are two key material categories which elucidate trade connections.

5.1. Coins

The coins found in, and struck by Apollonia have been partially published in the cemetery reports and in numismatic corpora (see Appendix 3). Apollonian coinage begins with arrow-coins: pre-monetary tokens used from the late 7th century into the period of 'real' coinage. Casting moulds from Yagorlitz near Olbia (Балабанов 1986b, 11) and cape Atiya, 10 km north-west of Apollonia, where a 2000 arrow-coin pot hoard was found too (Пандалеев 1928; Герасимов 1939, 424–5; Димитров 1975), show that arrow-coins were produced by north-west Pontic cities alongside Apollonia. Except for isolated finds from inner Thrace, arrow-coins cluster around north-west Pontic cities Apollonia, Histria, Olbia, Tyras (Figure 3.18; Димитров 1975). This distribution shows that arrow-coins facilitated exchange among west Pontic cities, and sometimes passed in the hands of inland communities. Arrow-coins are hence another idiosyncratic element, shared among west Pontic cities, along with the cult of Apollo Ietros discussed earlier.[34]

Between the early 5th and 3rd century, Apollonia minted silver coins following the Persian and Chian weight standards, common in the south-east Balkans and the north Aegean, rather than the standard of its mother city, Miletos (Стефанова 1980). Adhering to local standards ensured that Apollonian coins were accepted as regional currency. Hence, Apollonia's main commercial network covered the north Aegean, the Propontis, and inner Thrace (Stephanova 1985, 273). Compared to arrow-coins, Apollonian silver coins travelled deeper into Thrace; their main concentration however was around the Bay of Burgas (Figure 3.18).

The distribution of Apollonian coins in the immediate hinterland appears more sparse than the distributions of Greek coins in Dobrudzha, another Pontic hinterland area dense with hoards (Stoyanov 2000, 61 map 2), or the east Rhodope where we find many coins of Maroneia and Abdera (Nekhrizov & Mikov 2000, 162, 166 maps 1–2). Moreover, while inland communities around Maroneia struck imitations of Maroneian coins, communities around Apollonia did not make Apollonian imitations. This suggests that Apollonia had a

[34] On the potential symbolism of arrow-coins see Ustinova (2009, 247 n. 13, 255–6 and further lit.) and Talmaţchi (2013); although interesting, their arguments are difficult to demonstrate.

different relationship to its hinterland, or, at least, that exchanges were not monetised to the same extent.

Apollonia started minting bronzes from the mid-4th century (Stephanova 1985), as monetisation picked up across Thrace after the Macedonian conquest (see Chapter II). Apollonian bronzes circulated within the city and the Bay of Burgas, serving small-scale local transactions.

Apollonia's coins reveal the city's participation in a series of Pontic and Balkan networks. Archaic arrow-coins add to the idiosyncratic cultural elements shared among Pontic-Ionian apoikiai. Silver coins circulated more widely and were hoarded within a pool of recognised currencies. Apollonia's coinage also followed the wider historical trends towards monetisation in Thrace, considered in Chapter II.

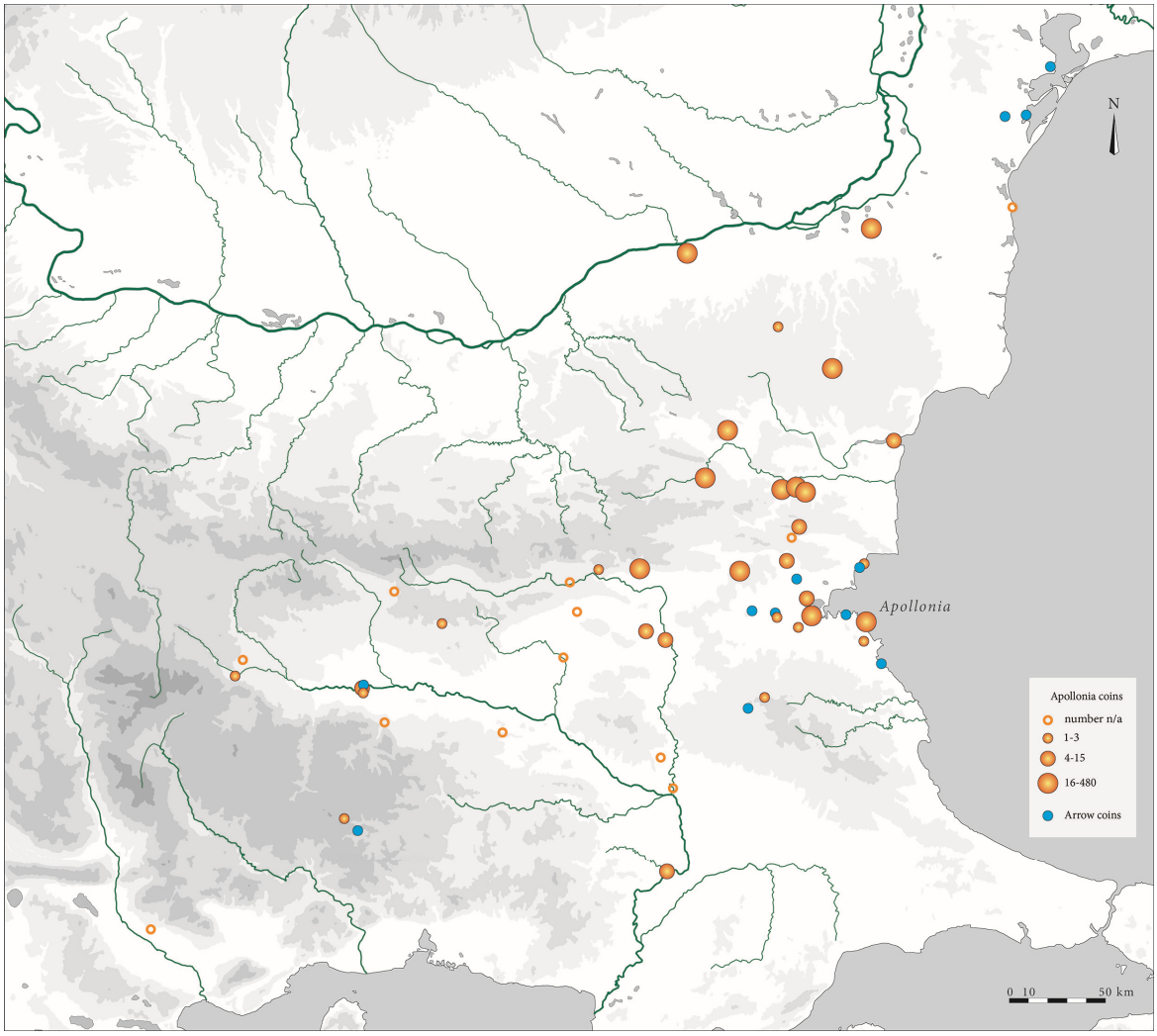

Figure 3.18. Apollonian coins distribution

5.2. Amphorae

Much trade in the ancient Mediterranean consisted of perishable foodstuffs, and, as I noted in Chapter I, it is their ceramic containers that elicit the scale, scope, and sources of exchange.

The most extensive study of amphorae from Apollonia is Nevena Gueorguieva's (2002) doctoral thesis. Earlier publications (Брашински 1970; Лазаров 1973) and recent studies on amphorae from the cemetery supplement the picture (Bozkova 2011; Damyanov 2011; Nedev & Gyuzelev 2011; Petrova 2011). Combined, the data comprise around 800 containers from urban and cemetery contexts, between the 7th and 2nd century. Although this is a fraction of the excavated material, it conveys the variety of Apollonian imports over time. The data are summarised in Table 4.

These data cannot be integrated for quantitative analysis because different quantification criteria were applied to each deposit (counting toes or other diagnostic fragments) and some deposits might skew the overall picture: e.g., the Kolokita mounds produced over 200 mostly Herakleian jars. Hence, I will integrate the data in a qualitative way. Another issue is that some published dates and source identifications need re-assessment. This task is beyond the scope of my thesis, so I will only note a few insights I used to update/translate Gueorguieva's identification data for my purposes. 'Mushroom-rim' amphorae (Soloha Type I) originated from many production centres, mainly around Knidos and Rhodos (Lawall 2004; Nørskov 2004). The source of amphorae with 'wineglass-shaped' toes, which Gueorguieva identified as Kos and Mende, can be narrowed down to Mende (Tzochev pers. comm.). Finally, for reasons explained in Chapter I, I will discuss the amphorae from Apollonia in regional groups.

Let us now examine the long-term dynamics of import, supplementing Gueorguieva's observations (2002, 286–97) with recent data. From its establishment to the mid-5th century, Apollonia received predominantly east Aegean amphorae from Chios, Klazomenai, Samos, Lesbos, etc. Between the mid-5th and 3rd century, the range of sources shifts to the north Aegean: Thasos, Mende, and their surroundings. From the 3rd century, south-east Aegean producers dominate again, especially Rhodos, Knidos, and Kos. Pontic jars, from Herakleia, Sinope, the Tauric Chersonese, and Murighiol type are present through the 4th century, Herakleia being particularly popular until the 350s BC.

The amphorae correlate with other imports. During the Archaic period, amphorae from Ionia and the islands were imported alongside east Aegean table vessels (see Table 2). Through the Classical period, north Aegean amphorae came contemporaneously with Attic tableware (Венедиков 1963, 75–7; Gueorguieva 2002, 387–8). Attic imports diminished with the rise of Rhodian and Knidian amphorae in the late 4th century.[35] These fluctuations result from the shifting dominant trade routes and the fact that table pottery travelled alongside bulk goods.

The dynamics of import at Apollonia also match the general pattern for the Pontic basin and, as Tzochev has recently summarised, the shifts we observe at Apollonia result from changes in the dominant trade routes in the Aegean, which he elucidates with reference to Thasian export dynamics. During the Classical period Athens provided credit to merchants who would sail from Athens, along the north Aegean, and on to the Black Sea. They traded highly-priced Thasian wine to the Pontos, where it was dearly appreciated, and brought grain back to Athens, where it was much needed. In the early Hellenistic period Rhodos took over the pivotal position in the wine and grain trade with the Pontos. The dominant trade route shifted along the east Aegean coast, and, correspondingly, the amphorae brought to the Black Sea were collected along that route (Tzochev 2015b, 253 n. 19–20).

These factors explain the dynamics of maritime trade at Apollonia in a different light from previous research that has argued for a special relationship between Apollonia and Athens (p. 129ff. above). That relationship was mediated by merchants and middle men. Studies on ancient trade have demonstrated that the distribution of certain types of Attic pots is not random, but results from feedback between producers and consumers, facilitated by knowledgeable middle men (Osborne 1996). They would for instance understand local taste and demand in Etruria, and communicate that to Athenian potters and painters – directly or via market mechanisms. The same probably applied to Apollonia, and its import results from the intersection of international economic dynamics (maritime trade routes), and the work of individual middle men in the trade.

[35] A similar decline occurs in the import of roof tiles from other Pontic cities – which had been active through the 4th century, and local production compensates (Stoyanova 2011).

Some amphorae brought to Apollonia travelled onwards to Thrace. Jars from Herakleia Pontica for example are extremely rare outside the Black Sea, so we can be confident that they entered Thrace via ports like Apollonia, Debelt, and to a lesser degree, Mesambria.[36] The distribution of Herakleian amphorae in Thrace covers over 20 sites, some hundreds of kilometres inland, reached over rough terrain without navigable rivers (Figure 3.19, see Appendix 2). The only quantitative estimates I have beyond Debelt and Apollonia are for Karnobat (25 amphorae) and Vetren (28). Carrying bulk goods overland is an expensive and risky enterprise, and the fact that it was undertaken shows it was sufficiently profitable. Inland amphora finds demonstrate there was indigenous interest in the wine which centres like Apollonia imported, and to Apollonia's inland market.[37] Apollonia might have been only indirectly related to inland consumers, but it was a key entry port for the goods they desired.

Almost all Herakleian imports in Thrace date between c. 400–350 BC (Tzochev 2010). Their abrupt disappearance indicates dramatic shrinkage in Apollonia's inland market, which Tzochev explains with the foundation of Kabyle during the Macedonian conquest (see Tzochev 2009, 64–8 for the chronology). Strategically placed on River Tonzos, 100 km from the Pontic coast, Kabyle took over Apollonia's former markets, and became a major hub, importing north Aegean amphorae (see Гетов 1994 on the amphorae).

It is hard to tell how the loss of internal markets affected Apollonia, because signs of economic decline are ambiguous. As we saw, the imposing mounds on Kolokita were reused for more modest cist burials in the late 4th century, and the early Hellenistic graves contain no gold jewellery; other factors however, like funerary ideology, fashion, or legislation, might also explain modest burials.

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[36] Compared to Apollonia and Debelt, Mesambria received few Herakleian amphorae and roof tiles (Stoyanova 2011, 459).

[37] While not all Pontic import went via Apollonia, the hundreds of Herakleian amphorae here and their paucity at Mesambria (Lazarov 1980) indicate Apollonia was a key importer until the mid-4th century. Herakleian amphorae are rare at Mesambria partly because most Mesambrian finds are Hellenistic and later.

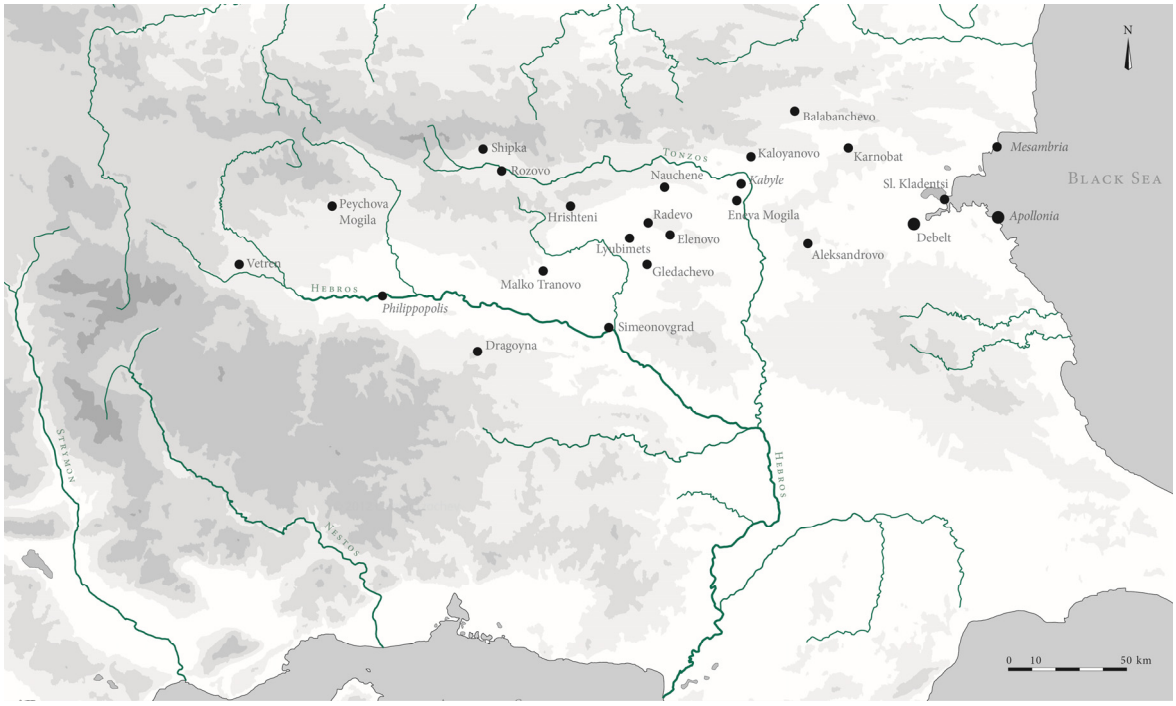

Figure 3.19. Herakleian amphorae in southern Thrace

	E Aegean					N Aegean					Pontic			C Aegean / other				SE Aegean			
Period	Chios	Klazomenai	Samos	Miletos	Lesbos	Thasos	Mende	Thasian circle	Akanthos	Ainos	Herakleia	Sinope	Chersonesos	Ikos	Peparethos	Corinth	Proto-Graeco-Italiot	Knidos	Kos	Rhodos	Mushroom-rim (Knidos/Rhodos)
end 7th-6thc	A	A	A	D? K?	A?																
6th century	A D K	A D K	D	A D K																	
c.600-550	A D	A D	D	A D	D																
end 6th c	A	A		A D?	a																
5th century	AA D																				
c.500-450	AA				A																
c.450-400	AA KK	A?	A	A?		A DK	A K				D?K										
4th century	AA KK				K	AA D K?	A K?	a	D	D				A			a				A
c.400-350	AA KK					D	D				AA DD KK	D			A D					D	
c.350-325	AA					AA D	A D				AA DD	A D K		A	A D	a				D	
c.330-300	AA					AA	A		a		AA		a	A	A			a			
3rd century	A					A						A	A						A	A	

Table 4. Amphora imports at Apollonia, Debelt, and Karnobat (data from Balabanov 2011; Gueorguieva 2002; Petrova 2011; Tzochev 2011a) A=present, AA=predominant, a=few fragments

6. The surrounding area

Let us now examine Apollonia's wider relations to its surrounding area. In the dominant models reviewed earlier (p. 130–137), Apollonia's relationship to Thrace revolved around trade and resource extraction from the hinterland. According to mid-20th-century historians, Apollonia achieved prosperity by exploiting indigenous peasants, and exporting grain from the Thracian plain to Athens. According to the Thracological model, Apollonia extracted copper ore from its immediate hinterland. Indigenous hillforts (Figure 3.21) along Medni Rid, allegedly guarded the copper mines from Apollonian attack, and simultaneously used Apollonia as a commercial partner and export harbour.

Two key resources allow us to revisit Apollonia's relationship to Thrace: Martin Gyuzelev's comprehensive overview of 1st millennium BC sites in the south-west Pontic area (Гюзелев 2009), and primary research on key sites in the Bay of Burgas. This section will give a brief synopsis of the indigenous sites around Apollonia: cemeteries, settlements, sanctuaries, and mines, before proceeding to examine Apollonia's relations some better-documented sites.

6.1. Pontic Thrace in the Iron Age

The first settlers in Apollonia arrived in a landscape populated with EIA monuments, but due to poor chronological resolution in the EIA (see Chapter II), we do not know how densely it was occupied at any one point.

Dolmens are scattered behind Medni Rid, and across the Strandzha Mountains; there are also numerous mounds, which could date from the Bronze Age to the Roman period (Шкорпил & Шкорпил 1891; Шкорпил 1925; Делев 1982, 1990; Гюзелев 2009). Unfortunately, the mounds have not been excavated or published, and most dolmens have been damaged and looted, so we cannot say much about them. These burial landmarks around Apollonia seem to fit in the burial traditions of Thrace, examined in Chapter II. As we saw there, the EIA communities who built and used the dolmens and mounds were often interested in novel items of distinction, which they acquired via indirect exchange (see the imports in southern Strandzha, p. 72 above).

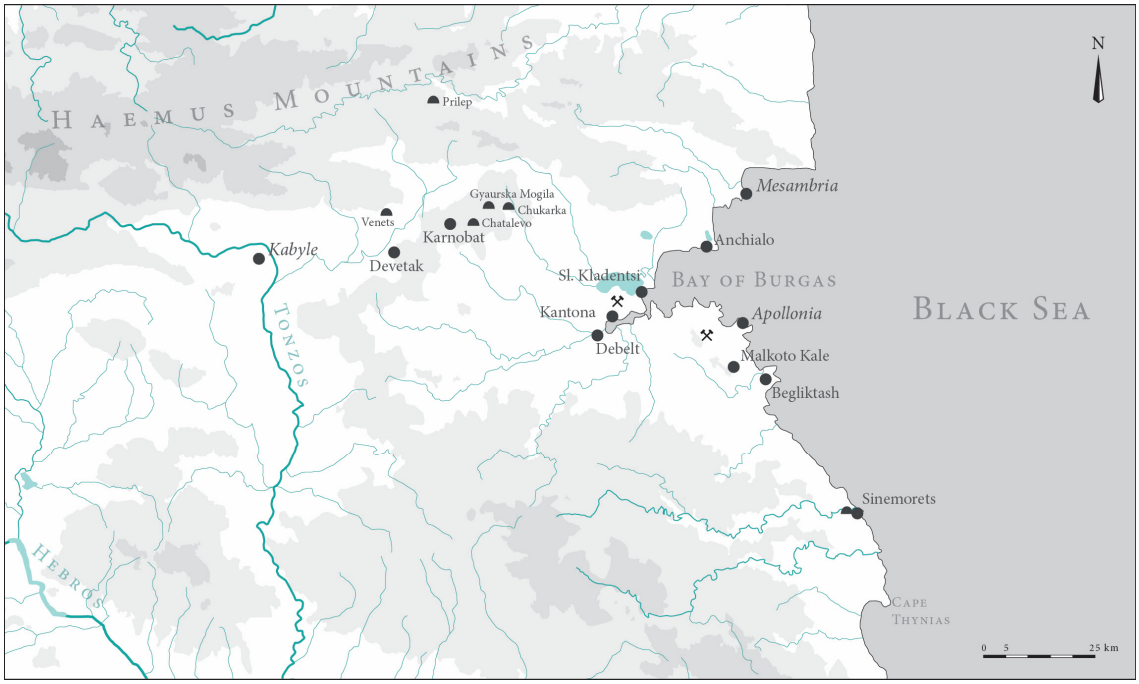

Figure 3.20. Principal settlements, burial mounds, and mines around Apollonia

Indigenous sanctuaries are difficult to identify. The most convincing case is Begliktash, a group of picturesque rock formations, near Ropotamo River, sited among several groups of dolmens. According to a preliminary report, the pottery dates from the 8th century to the Roman period (Дражева & Недев 2005, 242). Another long-lived sanctuary lies at the mineral springs of Aquae Calidae, 15 km north-west of Burgas. It is unclear what practices took place at these sites, except for the deposition of votive offerings.

Mining activities have been an important focus of research. Artefact analysis shows that copper ore was extracted from Medni Rid already in the Chalcolithic (Лещаков 2010b; Pernicka 2014, 256); mining probably continued here over the following millennia, although the evidence for it is scant (Черных 1978). Fragmentary evidence confirms that the Medni Rid mines were used during the 1st millennium BC: 6th-century Ionian potsherds were found around the mines at Propadnalata Voda, on Medni Rid (Лещаков & Класнаков 2011), and 'Thracian' pottery apparently lay among the slag heaps at Varli Bryag, in Burgas Bay (Davies 1936, 93). The slags near Rosen mine were found to come from iron-working, during the 4th and 2nd century (carbon-dated to 2291 and 2096 ±40 BP) (Наков & Шарп 2008). These data confirm that Medni Rid was mined for copper and iron from the 6th century onwards, but currently we cannot ascertain the scale, not the social relations behind ore extraction at any given period. This casts doubts on earlier models revolving around metal trade, which we examined above.

A series of sites can be interpreted as temporary EIA settlements. Those in coastal locations (e.g. Chayka and Elya bay) probably were fishing hamlets or harbours. Most of these sites consist of surface scatters, pits (Sarafovo, Kastrich), or deposits without structures (Apollonia) so little can be said about them.[38] Their dating is hypothetical, since the pottery has not been published. As far as we know them, these putative EIA settlements, seem to conform to the general picture of ephemeral EIA habitation sites, as part of the life of a mobile or semi-mobile population (p. 92ff. above). The hilltop site of Malkoto Kale and two sites in the Bay of Burgas (Debelt and Sladkite Kladentsi) exhibit longer occupation, into the LIA; they will be considered in detail below.

Fortified rural estates appeared in the late 4th century at Kantona, near Mandra Lake, where a solid-built structure might have had domestic or economic purposes (Балабанов 1984, 1985), and Sinemorets, where small hill overlooking the Veleka estuary, was enclosed by a wall and a tower (Агре & Дичев 2009, 2010b, 2013). Both of these sites could exploit marine resources, and had a strategic position vis-à-vis land and sea routes. They are part of the rise of fortified rural estates across Thrace and Macedonia, which I mentioned in Chapter II (p. 102; see Appendix 1). These were sites with traces of intensive economic activity, ample storage facilities, often located near good farmland, wildlife resources, and/or in relation to strategic routes (see Archibald 2013c, 141–52). Clearly the Pontic area was swept in the wider transformation of the economic landscape, which Macedonian rule brought across the Balkans. We already saw another aspect of this in the section on trade above.

This cursory review shows that our knowledge of the indigenous landscape around Apollonia is still very limited. Consequently, it is difficult to assess how the foundation of Apollonia affected communities nearby, and how their relations unfolded. For what we know, during the EIA, the inland population lived a very different life from the settlers at Apollonia. This transpires through their burial monuments, their sanctuaries, and their settlements, which seem to conform to trends from inner Thrace. The distribution of the monuments suggests that the communities inhabiting the area of Apollonia before its foundation were exploiting its mineral resources. Apollonia would have offered something

[38] Most of the EIA sites have been reported by scholars who at the time were graduate students in history and specialised in later periods (Димитров 1973; Димитров & Николов 1975).

in return in order to convince them to share these resources. We can shed more light on this engagement by focusing on several of the excavated sites.

6.2. Malkoto Kale

Malkoto Kale is considered a Thracian fortress, occupied continuously from the EIA to the Hellenistic period. Scholars posit that it guarded and exploited the mines of Medni Rid, and interpret the other 'hillforts' along Medni Rid by analogy with Malkoto Kale (Венедиков *et al.* 1976, 1978; Домарадски & Карайотов 1976; Фол 1982b). The hillforts allegedly maintained a mutually beneficial, if tense, partnership with Apollonia, 14 km away (Figure 3.21). They controlled the copper; Apollonia offered a harbour for export (Делев *et al.* 1982, 378):

> Indirect data, especially the presence of more significant import from Apollonia (tiles and everyday objects), speak, perhaps, of the natural influence which the colonists had over the development of metal extraction on Medni Rid. Its intensification is inevitably due to the wide trade connections which the colonists provided to the region.

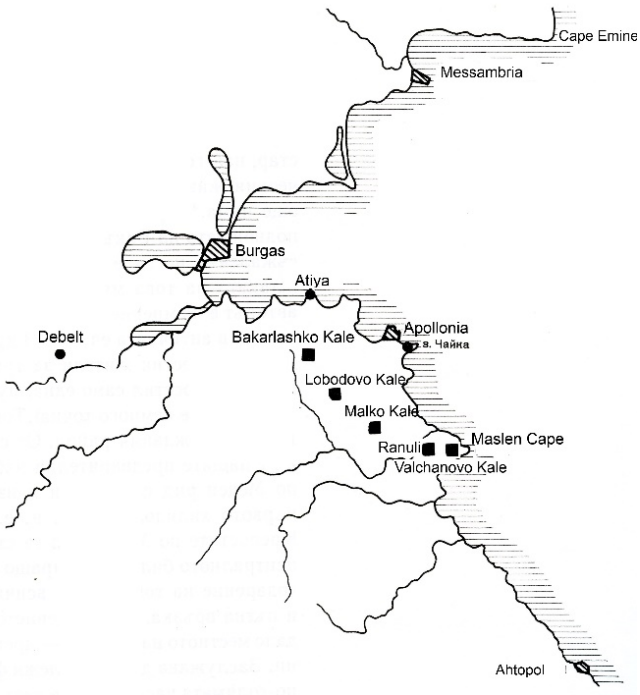

Figure 3.21. Hypothetical hillforts along Medni Rid (after Домарадски & Карайотов 1976, 130 fig. 189)

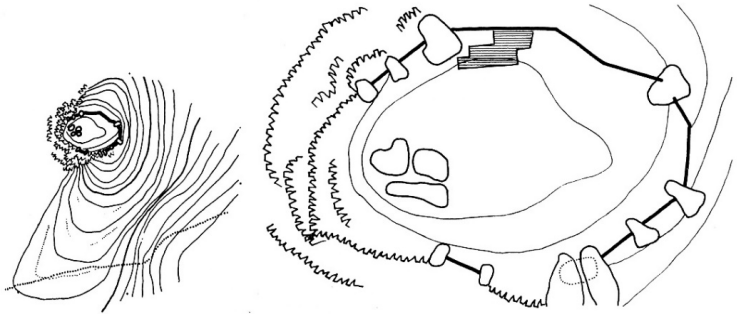

Figure 3.22. Plan of Malkoto Kale (Домарадски & Карайотов 1976, 135 fig. 145–6)

Revisiting the publications and the extant finds in Sozopol Museum, I found several issues with this interpretation, which lead us to re-assess the site, and the model built upon it. I believe such a re-assessment has not been done yet, because few scholars have revisited the original material, and because the publication – effectively a preliminary excavation report, packaged in the authoritative volumes *Megaliths in Thrace* – appears misleadingly conclusive, despite the authors' caution. Close reading that reveals that the 'hillforts' are very different in size, from 0.1 ha at Bakarlashko to 3 ha at Valchanovo Kale, and dating artefacts were only published from Malkoto and Valchanovo Kale (two hand-made cups). The excavations at Malkoto Kale covered only 150 m^2 (Делев *et al.* 1982, 360), 3.7 % of the total enclosed area, 0.4 ha (Домарадски & Карайотов 1976, 130); many finds remain unpublished. Since the 1970s, much material has been lost and discarded without record, including the field documentation. Simply put, the evidence for the 'hillforts' model rests on scant evidence.

These factors necessitate several revisions. First, there is no evidence that the sites were 'forts', despite their defensive location. The excavators saw Malkoto Kale as a Thracian fortress, because the site occupies a naturally fortified plateau, encircled by a rubble stone wall and large standing boulders. However, the fortification wall was only erected in the Hellenistic period. The only finds that might point to military conflict are the 'battle balls': naturally-occurring volcanic bombs, found at a stratigraphic depth corresponding to the EIA (1.55 m in sq. 1). Measuring around 3–10 cm, they might have been sling missiles, or grinding stones. Consequently, there is no evidence for fortification and conflict.

Second, the evidence for metalworking is also very limited before the Hellenistic phase at Malkoto Kale. The publications mention only one metal object from the EIA strata, a

bronze breast-plate,[39] and more numerous bronze and iron "appliques, needles, an axe, etc." from the LIA layers (Делев *et al.* 1982, 366–7). But only in the Hellenistic period do we find metal-working tools and debris: copper, iron and lead slag, a crucible, and bellows (Делев *et al.* 1982, 370–4; Гюзелев 2009, 108). Before that, metal processing, if there was any, would have taken place outside the settlement. One might even posit that in the Hellenistic period new industries were brought into the settlement, and the fortification wall was built in order to protect them.

Third, the links between Malkoto Kale and Apollonia are elusive. The excavators claim that "from the 5th century BC, Greek imports become abundant in the fortress" (Карайотов 1975, 11;), is impossible to ascertain. The corpus of figured pottery in Thrace includes only one 4th-century red-figured *krater* from Malkoto Kale (Reho 1990 No. 42). The pottery catalogue for Trench II and the Looter trench lists 19 'Greek' sherds, including four black-glazed cups, a lamp, three handles and a neck sherd from transport amphorae, alongside 111 diagnostic local fragments; drawings and dates are not provided (Домарадски & Карайотов 1976, 142–54). A few black-figure fragments appear on photographs (Figure 3.23), but they are too poorly preserved and blurry to be dated. I found only one of them in the Sozopol Museum, along with a few unpublished black-glazed bowls and transport amphora sherds. One black-glazed bowl can be dated to the 5th century, but the amphorae belong to the 4th (Figure 3.23, Chavdar Tzochev pers. comm.). I found no Archaic-period pots imports, although there might be some beyond our small and fragmentary sample. Pre-Hellenistic Greek imports at Malkoto Kale seem to be few. Like elsewhere in Thrace, the shapes revolve around wine-drinking (black-glazed bowls, *krater*, amphorae) and multi-functional bowls. The extant data do not point to intensive import or influence from Apollonia; instead, Malkoto Kale appears to follow trends from the Thracian interior.

This pattern continues into the Hellenistic phase, when we find a wider range of 'Greek' ceramics: roof-tiles, transport amphorae, mould-made bowls, fish plates, lamps, and *lacrimaria,* found at the settlement and in the nearby mounds. By this stage, roof-tiles,

[39] Apparently, it resembled a breast-plate from Dobrina (Делев *et al.* 1982, 366; cf. Мирчев 1965a, 42 table XVI.53), indicating that Malkoto Kale participated in EIA networks of fashion and exchange, and Apollonia expanded its connectivity.

amphorae, and 'Greek' table pottery were widely spread (cf. Chapter II, Seuthopolis, Kabyle, Sinemorets, Mandra Lake). The Hellenistic expansion and fortification of Malkoto Kale also corresponds to a wider trend towards intensifying production at protected sites (cf. the rural estates mentioned above).

The interplay between Apollonian impact and indigenous traditions at Malkoto Kale is better attested in the adoption of the potter's wheel. The pots from Phase 1 (9^{th} – 6^{th} century) has intricate decoration (Домарадски *et al.* 1992). The sherds I saw in the museum have a crumbly texture, lateral breakage pattern, and irregular colouring, which suggests they were formed by coiling, and then fired at relatively low temperatures, with limited control over oxidation, so probably in an open fire. Three major hand-made fabrics can be identified with the naked eye: a Coarse Red Ware with large inclusions; a Black Burnished Ware with large angular mineral grains up to 5-6 mm; and a sandy Black Burnished Ware with a grainy texture and up to 30% fine sand inclusions. The Coarse Red Ware vessels are mostly storage and cooking jars, whereas the black burnished fabrics were preferentially used for cups, bowls, jars with flaring necks, and other liquid containers. The burnished surface sometimes acquired a metallic sheen. Inclusions became smaller over time (i.e. over the stratigraphy of each trench). When wheel-made vessels appear in Phase 2,[40] they strongly resemble the sandy black burnished fabric of the EIA. So there might be a degree of technological continuity, in the process of adopting the potter's wheel.

It is tempting also to argue that greyware black-glaze imports appealed to Thracian communities like Malkoto Kale partly due to an existing aesthetic for black-burnished vessels with metallic sheen in the EIA. The new cups fitted in an existing drinking practice, and with existing expectations of what a cup looks and feels like in terms of surface texture. Attic black-glazed cups also transformed these ideas: being light and different in shape, they required different motor skills and etiquette.

[40] I identified a dozen sherds with horizontal striations; when labelled, they appear around 1-1.20 m depth in Trench 75/II).

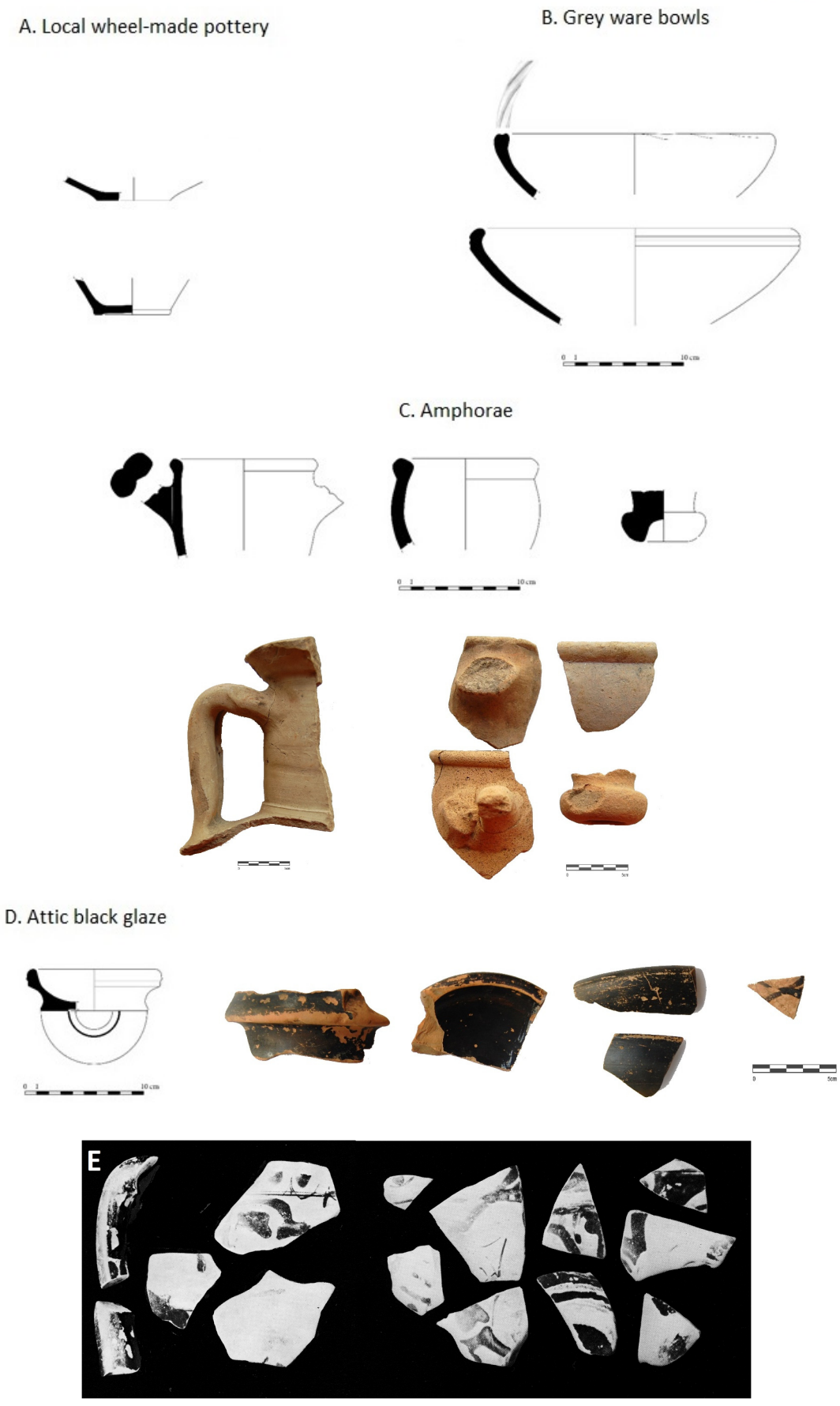

Figure 3.23. LIA pottery from Malkoto Kale (A–D. author's work; E. Делев *et al.* 1982, 367 photo 231–2)

Another arena where we see a mixing of Greek imports and indigenous practices, is the Hellenistic mound cemetery, located 70 m south-east of the settlement. Although mound burial is not an exclusively Thracian practice, it is much more common in Thrace than around Greek cities – the Kolokita mounds being an exception. Of four excavated mounds, one covered an inurned cremation grave; the other mounds must have been cenotaphs or related to commemorative rites. A stone circle enclosed a deposit rich with pottery, lamps, and animal bones – probably an arena for commemoration and ritual (Делев *et al.* 1982, 377ff.). Mound burial continues a long-standing Thracian tradition (cf. Chapter II), onto which lamps, fish-plates, and perfume jars, were grafted.

The surviving material from Malkoto Kale is rather limited for the 5th and 4th century strata, by contrast with the copious EIA and Hellenistic pottery. This calls into question the long-term development of the site. The excavators posited continuity, because the buildings of Phases 1 through 3 followed the same layout and construction technique: rectangular wattle-and-daub structures with rounded corners, occasionally dug into the bedrock. The difference was that during Phase 2, the floors were enriched with crushed tile and pottery, covered with smooth fired clay, and in Phase 3 (late 4th – mid-2nd century), the roofs were tiled (Домарадски & Карайотов 1982, 362–74). They also noted that the 5th and 4th century deposits were limited within the excavated area. This, and the lack of Archaic pottery, suggest that Malkoto Kale was occupied less intensively during this period. It seems plausible that with the foundation of Apollonia, part of the community from Malkoto Kale was drawn towards the coast.

Similar nucleation processes have been observed elsewhere: a series of defensively located sites across the Aegean were abandoned in the late 8th century, a period of growing connectivity, and new towns were settled in coastal locations with good ports (Osborne 2005, 11–3). Indigenous communities on Thasos also shifted from mountainous inland settlements to coastal locations (Owen 2009, 90–5). The evidence above suggests a similar dynamic might be at work at Malkoto Kale.

Given the issues above, the existing model of relations between Malkoto Kale and Apollonia is untenable, and we should be wary of interpreting the other unexcavated sites on Medni Rid as EIA forts. Instead, we should explore how each site developed its relationship to Apollonia over time. At Malkoto Kale, we can observe two lines of Thracian-Greek interaction, including a small(?) import of drinking vessels and amphorae, and the adoption of the potter's wheel. Albeit based on little material, my observations

indicate that the potter's wheel was adopted through the gradual transformation of existing production recipes and consumer tastes. In the Hellenistic period more elements of 'Greek' material culture – roof-tiles, fish-plates, lamps, etc. – were adopted and grafted onto existing burial and commemoration practices. Finally, the scant evidence from the 6th to 4th century raises the possibility of migration: indigenous people might have been drawn to Apollonia in a process of nucleation. The expanded and fortified Phase 3 settlement shows a reverse move towards defensive sites, with intensified production *intra muros* in the Hellenistic period. The site was abandoned in the mid-2nd century. These propositions derive from a small and fragmentary data sample; they need further investigation through field research.

6.3. Sladkite Kladentsi

Several sites which illuminate the encounter between Pontic cities and their Thracian neighbours lie in the Bay of Burgas (Figure 3.20). The first, Sladkite Kladentsi ('the sweet wells'), occupies the sandy spit separating Burgas Lake from the sea. In this industrial quarter of modern Burgas, much of the archaeology was uncovered through partially published, disconnected rescue digs through the 1960s–1980s (see Гюзелев 2009, 98–100, 187–91 for a comprehensive summary). Several clusters of amphorae laid in rows on the sandy soil, were interpreted as 'amphora depots' from the late 5th – early 4th century. The better-known part of the site is the cemetery, 150 m north of the 'depots' (Балабанов & Дражева 1985). The excavators found 14 cremation graves in simple pits, or surrounded by rubble stones, presumably supporting a small mound or cairn. The cremated remains were deposited in local jars, transport amphorae, or in one case, a *chytra*. The cemetery also contained a circular platform of pebbles and a semi-circular rubble-stone enclosure. Like the stone circle at Malkoto Kale, here the soil within the enclosed space and around the platform was rich with burnt animal bones, broken pots, and lamps, interpreted as the remains of commemorative rites.

The finds from the site include a range of everyday objects like tiles, loom-weights, fishing net weights, also terracotta figurines, local and imported pottery, and many amphorae. The imported tableware includes late 6th-century Ionian bowls, black-glazed and red-figured *kraters, skyphoi, oinochoai, lekythoi, askoi, kylikes*, salt-cellars, lamps, and other non-identifiable forms. *Kraters* and drinking cups are particularly common. There were also two *chytrai:* Greek cooking pots (Балабанов & Дражева 1985, 27 fig. 22–3).

Scholars have interpreted the grave mounds and the mixed pottery as evidence that Sladkite Kladentsi had a mixed Thracian-Greek population (Gyuzelev 2003, 109–10). The cremation graves have been compared to both 'Thracian' sites (Балабанов & Дражева 1985), and burials from Pontic Greek cities (Damyanov 2003). Ultimately, neither burials nor material culture can be considered straightforward markers of ethnic identity.

If, however, we consider how objects facilitated different practices at Sladkite Kladentsi, then the 'Greek' cooking pots, lamps, and terracotta figurines, enabled 'Greek' style cooking and religious activities.[41] Alongside these, we find pots and cult features like at other 'Thracian' sites. Therefore the material culture at Sladkite Kladentsi could facilitate both 'Greek' and 'Thracian' practices and lifestyles. Sladkite Kladentsi might have been a mixed settlement, or a place where people from either cultural tradition adopted the practices and material paraphernalia of the other.

Considering the site's location, the 'amphora depots', and imports, scholars have also interpreted Sladkite Kladentsi as an Apollonian *emporion* (Гълъбов 1950, 241, 249; Карайотов *et al.* 2000, 22). This cannot be demonstrated with the extant data, but it seems likely that the settlement functioned as a node in a commercial network, connecting maritime routes and the hinterland. The Ionian and black-figured pots testify that imports were delivered at Sladkite Kladentsi early on; and bulk trade intensified in the late 5th – early 4th century, when most of the amphorae date. Sladkite Kladentsi declined after the mid-4th century – like Apollonia and other sites in the Bay of Burgas, which I will examine next.

6.4. Debelt

Debelt stands near the confluence of Sredetska River into Mandra Lake: a strategic entry point from the Black Sea to inner Thrace. The site extends over 500 m, straddling a coulee. It was heavily eroded and disturbed.

[41] Although the full range of 'Greek' kitchen furnishings is not present here, Sladkite Kladentsi stands apart from other sites in Thrace, where Greek cooking pots and terracotta figurines are extremely rare (cf. Vetren, Chapter IV).

Excavations (1981–1985) uncovered over 200 pits, some ditches, platforms, and stone clusters; almost no structures survived, except a wattle-and-daub wall and a hearth in Sector AI, sq. 9 and 27 respectively (Балабанов 1986a, 1999; Debelt Archive). The pits contained thousands of transport amphorae (Balabanov 2011, 124); imported and local pottery (see Appendix 5); ashes; fragmented daub, mudbrick; domestic equipment: knives, mill-stones, spindle-whorls, fishing net weights; jewellery; bones from domestic and wild animals (Балабанов 1986a, 226).

The common interpretation regards Debelt as a pit sanctuary, where commercial transactions between Thracians and Greeks were sanctified by rituals (Балабанов 1986a, 1999, 74). The evidence for cult reportedly involved some specially-arranged objects in the pits, intact animal skeletons (from sacrifice); a human skeleton in one pit (Балабанов 1986a, 226, 1999, 69–75). Petropoulos (2005, 60–2), even framed Debelt as a 'middle ground' sanctuary.

Given the problems with 'pit sanctuaries', discussed in Chapter II, however, it seems more likely that Debelt was a settlement, with some cult activity. In fact, the original project director, Stefan Damyanov interpreted the finds as domestic debris and considered Debelt a heavily eroded settlement (Debelt archive; Tzochev 2011b, 75).

Most scholars agree that Debelt was a trading centre, and this seems likely, though impossible to prove. Debelt clearly received much cargo and occupied a strategic location, where maritime routes end, and land-routes to Thrace begin. Hence, it could have been a trans-shipment centre, between Thrace and the Black Sea (see the distribution of Herakleian amphorae, Figure 3.19). Amphora imports started in the 6th, possibly even the 7th century, then wained in the early 5th (Tzochev 2011b recorded c. 90 Archaic containers), and escalated dramatically in the early 4th century, reaching thousands of vessels: over 3000 amphora toes survive (Balabanov 2011, 124). Given that (i) imports at Debelt started soon after Apollonia's foundation; (ii) that Apollonia was the only *apoikia* in the region until Mesambria appeared in the late 6th century; and (iii) the range of amphora producers at Debelt and Apollonia overlapped over time (see Table 4), then most imports at Debelt probably came via Apollonia (Tzochev 2011b, 85–6) or from ships carrying the same cargo to Apollonia. The interpretation of Debelt as a trading hub finds further indirect support in the fact that imports at Debelt ceased in the mid-4th century, when Kabyle took over the former market of Black Sea traders like Apollonia and probably Debelt (see preceding section; Tzochev 2011b).

Debelt also yielded glass beads, bronze bracelets, cosmetic boxes (*pyxides*), and perfume jars (*lekythoi*). These frequently neglected finds show that imported jewellery and cosmetics were also in demand.

Many imports were consumed on site. Whilst people at Debelt used a wider range of vessels than in inner Thrace (cf. Appendix 2, Table 11), local taste clearly gravitated towards wine: besides the amphorae, the imported table pottery includes Ionian cups, bird bowls (Цочев in press fig. 7), Attic drinking cups *(skyphoi, kylikes), ichthiai,* lamps, and *kraters* (Балабанов 1999, 66). Some of these imports may have lubricated inter-cultural and commercial exchanges: a role, which alcohol and Greek pottery often played in encounters between Greeks and non-Greeks (Dietler 1995, 1997, 2005, 2010). Imported drinking forms were combined with local jars for cooking, storage, and deep bowls for serving/eating – like elsewhere in Thrace (cf. Chapter II).

The local ceramics, unstudied until now, reveal that Debelt wheel-made pottery gradually: hand-made wares are more concentrated in the deeper layers, and gradually their quantity decreases, as wheel-made pots and imports become more frequent (Appendix 5). This corroborates my suggestion that potters at Malkoto Kale adopted the wheel gradually, and maintained some pre-existing technological practices, such as the clay-paste preparation.

It is unclear whether Debelt was settled contemporaneously with Apollonia, or an indigenous settlement existed before the arrival of the Greeks. Some potsherds indicate Debelt was inhabited towards the end of the EIA (Дамянов *et al.* 1983, 49), but the fluted/knobbed ware fragments could document earlier use, in EIA1 (Debelt Archive, Sector A1, Nos. 700, 825, 832(?) – incised/stamped ware; 1227, 1243 – fluted/knobbed ware). Two deposits contained only hand-made pottery (Pit 1, sq. 30, and Layer 7, sq. 10, in Sector AI), but usually hand-made pottery appears alongside amphora imports, even in the deepest layers (Appendix 5). This suggest that Debelt was frequented during the EIA, and when traffic increased and economic opportunities arose in the 6th century, Debelt's strategic location vis-à-vis maritime trade attracted a more permanent settlement. The emergence of Sladkite Kladentsi, and the dynamics we noted at Malkoto Kale, might be part of the same process, whereby people moved towards well-connected coastal sites in the 6th century, related to new economic opportunities.

The tentative models I propose require verification through primary studies of the finds, and field-survey of the settlement patterns. Nevertheless, they set a new direction for

understanding of Thracian-Greek relations in the Pontic region. While scholars traditionally envisage commercial exchange, casting Apollonia/'the Greeks' as traders, we see that indigenous groups similarly exploited trade opportunities, and at Debelt trade coexisted alongside technological transfer, and cross-cultural consumption.

6.5. Karnobat

Karnobat lies about 100 km north-west of Apollonia, and 50 km north-west of Debelt. Several sites around Karnobat (Figure 3.20) received and consumed imports from the early 6th century. These finds elucidate indigenous tastes, and mark one of the routes from Apollonia into Thrace, via the Bay of Burgas.

Two settlement sites, found during the construction of Trakia Motorway dated to EIA1 (10th – 8th century), and from the first half of the 6th to the mid-4th century respectively (Момчилов *et al.* 2009; see Appendix 1). These sites are 200 m apart, but it is unclear whether the settlement was abandoned, and then re-occupied, or if there was continuous occupation beyond the excavated area. The later site yielded 119 amphorae (Цочев 2009; Tzochev 2011b); east Aegean and Attic cups; and a wider range of greyware shapes (drinking, eating, serving, wine-mixing vessels, as well as some cosmetic containers) which strongly resemble the contemporary greywares from Apollonia (Ников 2009). Several burial mounds, from the 6th and early 5th century also lie around Karnobat, at Chatalovo, Gyaurska, and Tonchova Mogila. The burials are inurned cremations and supine inhumations, but the specific rites are difficult to reconstruct, because many were looted. The surviving material gives a sense of the grave inventories (Table 5). Many imported pots were found in the mound fill. The preferred shapes were clearly drinking cups: owl *skyphoi*, black-glazed one-handlers, *kylikes*, etc. often combined with greyware pouring, serving, and mixing vessels. There were also imported perfume jars, and hand-made pottery. Like the finds from the settlement, the pottery from these mounds overlaps with the range of imports and the greyware repertoire from Apollonia, which shows they were imported via Apollonia (Георгиева & Ников 2010, 145).

A bronze mirror handle from Chukarka probably also comes from a grave; it was made in an east Aegean workshop, around the late 6th – early 5th century (Стоянов 2010).

Table 5. Graves around Karnobat (data from Georgieva 2009; Георгиева & Ников 2010)

MOUND and Graves	Bronze vessels	Weaponry	Adornments	East Aegean Pottery	Attic	Greyware	Other
PRILEP							
Mound fill 6th c.				Aeolian, Ionian 1 Corinthian aryballos		kraters, bowls cups	Transport amphorae HM pots
Group grave 13 cremated		1 knife	2 bracelets				
Tomb c. 350 BC		sword spearheads 3 greaves			1 RF krater 3 BG cups	Amphora lekanis lekythos, cup	
CHATALEVO							
Grave 15 6th - early 5th c.			amber bead				HM pot
Grave 15a						Lekanis	HM pot (urn)
Grave 17		1 knife	Bronze needle fibula (?)			Cup/amphora?	
GYAURSKA	MOGILA						
Mound fill late 6th – 5th c.	Min. 5 vessels	sword 2 daggers w/ silver scabbards 2 arrows 1(?) spear			2 RF cups 12 BG cups(?)		
Grave 5 (disturbed)			Bronze fibula				
Grave 6				Milesian amphora (urn)			
Grave 4			Iron fibula			Jug (urn)	HM pot Bronze sowing needle
Grave 1 (disturbed)	2 basins						
Grave 3						Jug (urn)	
Grave 2						Jug (urn)	
TONCHOVA	MOGILA						
1(?) burial 5th c.	Fr. vessels (gorgon jug dec)	sword 64 arrows spearhead iron knife	silver hoop gold foil 4 bronze 'spools'		BG fragments	Jug	Furniture?

Even though most of the graves were plundered, and the settlement was only studied through a small rescue excavation trench, the finds around Karnobat shed light on Thracian-Greek relations in several important respects. They help to understand indigenous demand for imports, and the mechanisms through which Greek objects moved from the coast inland.

Some of the earliest Greek pots around Karnobat might be sporadic down-the-line imports or gifts. For example, the Milesian table amphora was kept for a number of years before

burial (Георгиева & Ников 2010). Import undulated over time, decreasing in the late 5th century, but with a general trend towards increasingly large amounts, as seen by the quantity of amphorae from the settlement, which speak for a commercial flow.

The burial contexts reveal that we are dealing with an elite clientele, with a taste for imported drinking cups, and other items of distinction, such as jewellery, decorated weaponry, and metal plate (e.g. gold and silver ornaments, amber beads, fibulae, silver scabbards, bronze vessels). Evidently some individuals could afford more ostentation than others, and the 5th century graves are considerably richer in metal than the earlier ones.

At Gyaurska Mogila and Prilep, many drinking cups were found in the mound fill, suggesting that a wider group of people used these imports within the funerary feast following the burial. The finds from the settlement confirm the impression that the imported grey-ware, east Aegean, and Attic pots were available and used beyond the elite sphere. Again, the combination of drinking cups, *kraters*, and amphorae, suggest that wine was a strongly desired commodity. But the wider range of greyware eating and drinking shapes at Karnobat attest to the incorporation of more and more foreign shapes in the local ceramic repertoire.

One red-figured cup with Thracian warriors from Gyaurska Mogila (Figure 3.24) deserves special attention. This hybrid object is an old EIA Thracian shape, translated in red-figure. It depicts three Thracian warriors in traditional attire: colourful cloaks, boots, pointed caps, and a pair of spears. Another cup with similar shape and identical image, painted more coarsely, was found in Apollonia, and dated 450–425 BC. Scholars contextualise these vessels among other late 6th and 5th century Attic pots, representing Thracians and other non-Greeks (Lezzi-Hafter 1997, 359–64; Georgieva 2009, 254–5). The two cups were attributed to the Eretria Painter and his circle. Produced, presumably, in Athens, after a Thracian prototype, they were aimed at Thracian consumers, who would be familiar with the shape.

Figure 3.24. Red-figured cup with Thracian warriors (Georgieva 2009, 261 fig. 8)

The cup from Karnobat adds to well-documented phenomenon of Attic potters producing foreign shapes and Attic painters depicting specific images, for a foreign market. Etruscan forms like kyathoi and Nikosthenic amphorae were translated in Attic black-glaze, and exported to Etruria. Certain iconographic programmes were also painted to Etruscan taste. The Tyrrhenian amphorae and Perizoma group pots, for instance, are found predominantly in Etruria (Spivey 1991, 139–42; de la Genière 2006). Similarly, a number of pots by the Sotades painter workshop (460–50 BC) were exported to the Achaemenid Empire; some of them, along with pots from other workshops, seem to have accommodated Persian iconographic tastes (de Vries 1977). These examples illustrate that certain workshops accommodated the morphological and iconographic tastes of foreign customers, and produced for specific markets. The most likely intermediaries in this exchange are merchants, who would communicate the tastes of non-Greek customers to Attic painters.

At an economic level, the cup with Thracian warriors materialises the market-based bonds between Thracian customers and Attic potters, mediated by knowledgeable merchants and local distributors, like those at Apollonia. At another level, the cup shows the Thracians an image of themselves, as seen through Attic eyes. The image is a glimpse of a world, where Thrace and Athens were coming closer together economically and politically, and a time when the substance of identity and difference was a subject of exploration in Athens, as we see in the work of pot painters, and, for example, in the stories of Herodotos. The cup

poses the question whether Thracian customers shared such concerns, and what was their understanding of difference.

6.6. Summary

In the preceding pages I advocated for a shift away from models of Apollonia being an exploitative power, reaching deep to extract resources from inner Thrace, and confronted with cooperative yet cautious local elites. The evidence for such models is scarce. As a more productive alternative approach, I focused on the relationship between Apollonia and well-documented sites in the surrounding region. Different modes of interaction between Thracians and Apollonians, and a variety of historical agents emerge to the foreground – elite customers, traders, and potters, each bringing their own interest to the encounter. The above-described case-studies allow us to identify the driving factors of indigenous demand, and the changing nature of the exchange. From the end of the EIA, indigenous elites generated demand for items of distinction, which Apollonia provided, via local intermediaries, down-the-line trade, or direct sporadic import. Over time these exchange networks grew to include a larger volume of bulk goods and pottery, available to a wider circle of consumers. As a result of the arrival of Apollonia, and the development of these trade networks, the settlement pattern in Pontic Thrace shifted. We observe a trend towards nucleation and permanent settlement at sites with good connectivity, at the interface of maritime and continental routes. Another profound impact of Apollonia was the spread of the potter's wheel and grey-ware pottery. The studies above suggest that this was a piecemeal transition, and that the new technology took roots in Thrace because it was grafted onto existing production and consumption practices.

7. Conclusions

This chapter has shown that scholars have approached the interaction between Thrace and Apollonia from two main, opposing perspectives. The Classical-historical tradition emphasises the Greekness of Apollonia, and its links to the wider colonial world and Athens. A primary concern is the extent of Apollonia's territorial control over the coast, and its exploitation and export of resources from the hinterland. The second, Thracocentric perspective, emphasises the distinctive features and resilience of Thracian 'megalithic culture' in the face of Greek influence. In this perspective, indigenous elites controlled key resources (metal ores) and cooperated with Apollonia, but their relationship retained the

potential for conflict. Both of these perspectives understand Thracian and Greek identity as bounded within separate geographical spheres. Some of the more nuanced accounts allow for mixed settlements, where Greeks and Thracians lived together and traded, or they argue that Thracians living in Apollonia became ‘Hellenised’. The perception of division and boundaries arises from the fact that each perspective, the Hellenocentric and Thracocentric, has a different political baggage and only half the evidence, so they only tell half the story.

I set out to examine the relations between Apollonia and Thrace by bringing the two stories together, integrating the extant data, and looking at the long-term evolution of the encounter. I tried to go beyond the narrative of “Greek colonization” and the vague label “interactions”. I sought to undo the monolithic image of ‘Greeks’ and ‘Thracians’, and to examine how relations of difference and identity were developed, and how 'Greek' material culture fitted in the local context.

Apollonia was a city, whose dwellers came from different places, as the epigraphic and ceramic evidence attest. Over time, people from different origins became integrated into a cohesive-looking community, with a distinctive Apollonian identity. Its locus and most striking material expression, was the cult of the patron deity Apollo Ietros. But distinctive things about being Apollonian also permeated the mundane and personal realm: for centuries, most Apollonians buried their dead in a strikingly uniform way, and cooked funerary and commemorative meals on the idiosyncratic fish-grills. Such traditions are the product of continued communal practice. So, the homogeneity we observe at Apollonia does not result from ‘Hellenisation’, but from a process of becoming Apollonian. This process probably involved top-down and grassroots strategies such as leadership initiative, legislation, peer pressure, emulation, and resistance. There might be spheres in which Apollonian identity was weak, irrelevant, or merely a rhetoric masking social divisions; but this does not detract from our insight of how Apollonian identity was constructed, and how this new reading changes our understanding of Thracian-Greek relations in Apollonia.

Lines of similarity and difference at Apollonia were not drawn along the Thracian-Greek divide, as modern disciplinary boundaries run. Instead, Apollonians developed relations of identity and difference at local and regional scales, according to specific political, social, and economic concerns. While some elements of Apollonian identity were widely shared across the Greek world, others were peculiar to Pontic Ionian cities: e.g. the Ionian dialect, the arrow-coins, Apollo Ietros, and the early 4th century mound burials. These shared

objects and practices bonded Pontic Ionian cities, especially their elites, in economic, religious networks, from which Apollonia drew political and economic benefits. Concurrently, Apollonia's Ionian descent was opposed to her immediate neighbour and economic rival, Mesambria – reportedly, of Dorian descent. Apollonia hence contributes a case study to the wider topic of identity politics in Greek colonial world. Remembering that such identity politics was usually the concern of the elite, we should not to overestimate its hold of ancient minds. For most people, attachment to family and the care for daily subsistence were probably much more important than 'being Apollonian'; nevertheless, through the way they lived, cooked, ate, worshipped their gods, and buried their dead, they *lived* an Apollonian identity.

Although there was space for mutual receptivity and hybridity, especially at mixed settlements, communities around Apollonia lived in different-looking houses, prepared food, and buried their dead following practices, which were more common in the Thracian interior than in Greek cities. To them, Apollonia would have been a 'zone of difference' (p. 37 above).

Some of these indigenous communities were evidently interested in what Apollonia had to offer. They started acquiring drinking cups, amphorae, and items of distinction within the first decades of Apollonia's foundation. The indigenous selection of imports we find around Apollonia confirms the wider Thracian pattern, observed in Chapter II: indigenous elites selected items of distinction, alcohol, and drinking pots, and integrated these imported objects in pre-existing traditions of funerary display and feasting. Hence, Greek objects imported to Thrace via Apollonia served indigenous political agendas and projects of identity.

Over time, the value of the imported objects, their range, and the means through which they circulated changed. The earliest 6th-century imports at Karnobat might result from sporadic down-the-line trade or gifts; they were valued enough to be curated for some decades, like the Milesian amphora above. Following a 5th-century decrease, in the early 4th century, amphorae and Attic cups were being shipped inland in quantity, through established trade routes. As imported pots became more common, they probably lost their initially exotic and exclusive quality, and gradually became part of local drinking services.

Trade between Apollonia and Thracian communities was driven by indigenous demand for wine and luxuries and the opportunism and entrepreneurship of various traders and

middlemen, from Apollonia and Thrace. Commerce peaked in the late 5th – early 4th century, when we see the largest volume of imported amphorae at Debelt, Sladkite Kladentsi, and Karnobat, and wide distribution of Pontic amphorae inland. Despite the common assumption, we have no evidence that grain or metal ore exports were exchanged as counterparts to imported delicacies.

The planting of Apollonia and its associated trade networks, appear to have altered the indigenous settlement pattern. Settlements like Debelt and Sladkite Kladentsi appeared or became more permanent as trade opportunities arose and traffic grew in the 6th century. Malkoto Kale was reduced or abandoned, as population was drawn to Apollonia. These are tentative interpretations of fragmentary data, but they seem to fit together in a regional-wide pattern of nucleation around sites with connectivity and trading potential from the 6th to the mid-4th century.

One long-lasting effect of Apollonia's engagement with Thrace was the introduction of wheel-made, high-fired greyware pottery. This new technology would have engendered profound transformations in the organisation of pottery production, related economic activities, from sourcing clay and fuel, to distribution, and consumption practices. The evidence from Debelt and Malkoto Kale suggests that the transition happened incrementally: wheel-made vessels gradually became more common, and more technologically sophisticated, never completely replacing the full repertoire of hand-made shapes.

Greyware pots were similarly grafted on existing consumption practices. Some indigenous shapes like high-handled cups were translated into greyware (or even red-figure), while other greyware shapes taken up in Thrace, like bowls with in-turned rims, had overlapping features and affordances with indigenous ceramic repertoires in functional and aesthetic terms. These vessels accommodated embodied habits of using indigenous shapes, and perhaps a long-standing predilection for dark polished surfaces with a metallic sheen, like burnished EIA pottery.[42] Notwithstanding these elements of continuity, the greyware repertoire replaced many old vessels, its new shapes brought new ways of eating and

[42] Perhaps a similar process explains the popularity of Attic black-glaze in Etruria, alongside native *bucchero*.

drinking. We need more detailed studies to elucidate how potters and consumers shifted from hand-made to wheel-made pottery. But this preliminary re-appraisal highlights the role of potters and consumers, whose daily practice turned the wheels of wider historical processes like technological transfer, economic change, and 'Thracian-Greek interactions'.

After the mid-4th century, the Macedonian conquest reconfigured the regional economy of Pontic Thrace, and altered existing Thracian-Greek networks around Apollonia. The amphora data indicate that Apollonia lost many of its local markets to Kabyle on Tonzos River, the newly-founded Macedonian settlement, which grew into a major trading hub. Philip II's seizing of Byzantion further curtailed access to trade networks beyond the Black Sea. As a result, Apollonia, and settlements in the Bay of Burgas considered here, lost their former wealth or were abandoned. New economic demands and risks are probably what drove people to re-occupy defensively sited settlements like Malkoto Kale in the Hellenistic period, and fortify them additionally. New economic relations after the mid-4th century also involved changes in daily life: 'Greek' ceramic forms and corresponding practices became more widespread (cf. the Classical and Hellenistic pottery at Malkoto Kale). More small transactions became monetised through bronze coins, and Apollonia too, started minting its own small change. Through the evidence presented here, Apollonia showed one of the many faces of Hellenism, within the local history of a Thracian-Greek encounters. The next chapter will explore another local history, which by contrast, is set in the heart of the continent, at Vetren.

Chapter IV. VETREN (ADZHIISKA VODENITSA)

Most encounters between Greeks and non-Greeks across the Mediterranean unfolded in coastal settings where geography sets up a divisive relationship between 'colony' and 'hinterland', as we saw at Apollonia. By contrast, Vetren[43] is located deep in the continent. Hence, it offers a novel perspective on interactions between Greeks and Others.

To facilitate juxtaposition between Vetren and Apollonia, this chapter mirrors the structure of Chapter III. I first review the key historiographical debates to which my work responds. Then I recount the geographical setting and chronological development of Vetren. Sections 3–6 explore religious and funerary practices, production, and trade in order to elicit the articulation of different identities and lifestyles at Vetren. Section 7 addresses the relationship between Vetren and its region. Finally, I consider how Vetren fits in broader historical processes and how it compares with sites beyond Thrace.

1 History of research and models of engagement

This section will cast a historiographical perspective and evaluate arguments within the focal debate over whether Vetren can be identified with *emporion* Pistiros, a Thasian trading colony.

[43] The site lies in Adzhiiska Vodenitsa locality; I refer to it as Vetren, after the nearest town, following other non-Bulgarian publications.

1.1. Vetren as a royal residence (early research)

The first indications that something interesting lay under the ground at Adzhiiska Vodenitsa came in the late 19th century when Václav Dobruský published two inscriptions from the area (Добруски 1895). Two tombs were excavated in the 1940s near Belovo (Велков 1942) and Vetren (Венедиков 1946), without mention of other archaeological remains. In 1988, agricultural machinery intersected the foundations of ancient ramparts. The following excavations, led by Mieczysław Domaradzki, exposed a fortification wall and adjacent structures (Figure 4.2). Initially Domaradzki considered Vetren a "Thracian settlement" (Домарадски 1989, 59). Noting the presence of transport amphorae, Attic pottery, and trade-related artefacts, he surmised that the "two partially excavated architectural features pre-dating Philip II" were "[m]ost probably … part of the residence of a Thracian aristocrat" (Юрукова & Домарадски 1990, 5). This interpretation was based on analogous sites from Thrace, such as Levski (see Chapter II) which had been discovered recently and was considered a royal residence (Юрукова & Домарадски 1990, 4). The fortification wall at Vetren was built c. 450–425 BC, based on Domaradzki's assessment "of the uncovered archaeological situation" (Домарадски 1989, 61; Юрукова & Домарадски 1990, 5). He mentioned some 150 (unpublished) Attic potsherds and 21 coins as chronological indicators. With the construction date settled, the question for Domaradzki was, "[w]hich is the dynasty in Thrace that has the means to build this residence in the mid-5th century BC". This fitted the interpretations of the period that placed archaeological finds within an elite genealogical time.

1.2. Vetren as the *emporion* Pistiros (epigraphic arguments)

The dominant interpretation of Vetren shifted dramatically in 1990, with the discovery of a partly damaged granite block inscribed in Greek 2 km north-east of the site. Since then, the idea of a royal Thracian city has been abandoned, and the excavation team considers Vetren a Greek trading post, the *emporion* Pistiros. The inscription (Figure 4.1; *SEG* 49:911) comprises a series of regulations, which a local ruler pledges to observe with respect to trade and the inhabitants of Pistiros who come from various coastal cities.

The text was cut in the 350s BC: after 359, the death of Kotys who is mentioned, and before the Macedonian conquest in the 340s which presumably curtailed the powers of the issuing authority (Domaradzka 2002b; cf. Tacheva 2006 who dates it post-340 BC). The

proposed date, and the "AM-" in line 41 suggest the decree was issued by Amatokos, Kotys' heir (Домарадски 1995, 10).

Figure 4.1.The Pistiros inscription (Velkov & Domaradzka 1996, 207; Domaradzka & Chankowski 1999, 246)

[— — — — c.20 — — — —]ΙΚΙΛ[— —]
[— — c.12 — —]ΔΕΝΝΥ . . Η εἰ δὲ . .
[. . . . ὀμνύτ]ω τὸν Διόνυσογ καὶ
[. . . .] ὀφειλέτω· ὅ τι ἂν δέ τις τῶν
[ἐμπ]οριτέων ἐπικαλῆι ὁ ἕτερος τ-
[ῶι ἑ]τέρωι κρίνεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τ-
[οῖς] συγγενέσι καὶ ὅσα ὀφείλετα[ι]
τοῖς ἐμπορίταις παρὰ τοῖς Θραιξ-
[ί]ν, τούτωγ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς μὴ
ποιεῖγ· γῆγ καὶ βοσκὴν ὅσην ἔχουσ-
ιν ἐμπορῖται, ταῦτα μὴ ἀφαιρεῖ-
[σθ]αι· ἐπαυλιστὰς μὴ πέμπειν το-
[ῖς] ἐμπορίταις· φρουρὴμ μηδεμίαν
εἰς Πίστιρον καταστῆσαι μήτε α-
[ὐτ]ὸμ μήτε ἄλλωι ἐπιτρέπειν·
[κλ]ήρους {[ὁμ]ήρους} Πιστιρηνῶμ μὴ λαμ-
[βάν]ειμ μηδὲ ἄλλωι ἐπιτρέπειν·
[τὰ {γῆν}] τῶν ἐμποριτέωμ μὴ [ἀ]φαιρεῖ-
[σθ]αι μήτε αὐτὸμ μήτ[ε το]ὺς ἑ-
[αυτ]οῦ· τέλεα κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς
μὴ πρήσσειν, ὅσα εἰς Μαρώνεια[ν]
[εἰσ]άγεται ἐκ Πιστίρου ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἐ-
[μ]πορίων ἢ ’γ {ἐκ} Μαρωνείης εἰς Πίστ-
[ιρ]ον ἢ τὰ ἐμπόρια Βελανα Πρασε-
[.ω]ν· τοὺς ἐμπορίτας τὰς ΑΠΑΞ
[— 2–3 —] ϗαὶ ἀνοίγειγ καὶ κλείειν · ἅμα
[καθ]άπερ καὶ ἐπὶ Κότυος · ἄνδρα Μ-
[αρω]νίτην οὐ δήσω οὐδὲ ἀποκτ-
[ενέ]ω οὐδὲ ἀφαιρήσομαι χρήμα-
[τα] οὔτε ζῶντος οὔτε ἀποθανόν-
[τος] οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε τῶν ἐμῶν
[οὐ]δείς· οὐδὲ Ἀπολλωνιητέων, οὐδ-
[ὲ Θ]ασίων, ὅσοι ἐμ Πιστίρωι εἰσί[ν],
[οὔ]τε ἀποκτενέω οὐδένα, οὔτε
[δήσω] οὔτε ἀφαιρήσομαι χρήμα-
[τα οὔτε] ζῶντος οὔτε ἀποθανό-
[ντος οὔτε] αὐτὸς οὔτε τῶν ἐμῶν
[οὐδείς· εἰ δέ τις] τῶν οἰκητόρων
[— — c.14–16 — —] τῶν οὗ ὁ ἐμπορ-
[— — c.14–16 — —]ον εἰσὶν ΑΙΜ-
[— — c.14–16 — —]ν, ἐὰμ μὴ ΑΜ-
[— — c.14–16 — — τ]ις ἀδικῆι τὸ-
[ν δεῖνα {το|[ὺς δεῖνας]}]τε ΕΨΩΑΛΛΑ
[— — — — — ἀναδο]χεὺς {[ἀποδο]χεὺς} τὴν ἐπ-
[— c.5–6 — δι’ ἑκαστ]οῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ
[— — — — — — — —]Α *vacat*[44]

[44] The text given here follows *SEG* 49:911. This transcription does not incorporate the most recent adjustments, prposed by Miltiades Hatzopoulos (2013). While most scholars read ΒΕΛΑΝΑΠΡΑΣ|[–]N on l.

The most recent translation by Demise Demetriou (2012, 162) reads:

> Let it be sworn by Dionysus and let him pledge [the following]. Whatever claim any of the *emporitai* bring against one another, they are to be judged by their *syngeneis*; there will be no cancellation of debts on however much is owed by the Thracians to the *emporitai*; however much arable land and pasture the *emporitai* have will not be taken away; he will not send *epaulistai* to the *emporitai*; he will neither establish a garrison in Pistiros himself nor will he allow another to do so; he will not seize hostages from among the Pistirenoi or allow another to do so; neither he, nor his own, will seize the possessions of the *emporitai*; dues will not be levied along the routes on however much is brought to Maroneia from Pistiros or from the emporia, or from Maroneia to Pistiros or to the Belana emporia of the Prasenoi; the *emporitai* are to open and close their [-], just as in the time of Kotys. Neither I, nor any of my own will take a Maroneian man captive, or kill him, or take away his property, dead or alive. Neither I, nor any of my own, will kill, take captive, or seize the property, dead or alive, of any of the Apollonians or Thasians who are in Pistiros. If any of the settlers...

Scholars have dealt with the inscription in different ways, according to their interest. One concern for this study is how the text contributes to our knowledge of Thracian-Greek relations; I will return to this later. My immediate concern however is how the inscription shaped scholarly understanding of Vetren.

Only months after the discovery, Domaradzki's preliminary report on the 1990s excavation season recast Vetren as *emporion* Pistiros in the title, and opened with a commentary on the inscription (Домарадски 1991, 47–8):

> On [the stele] is incised the text of a treaty, its central subject being the inhabitants of the emporion, settlers from the city of Pistiros (Bistiros) by the river mouth of Mesta (on the territory of the Thasian peraia), founded

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24–5 as a reference to places and a group of people, Hatzopoulos reconstructs it as <επὶ> ἀναπράσε-|[ω]ν, from ἀνάπρασις, a rare term referring to 'the retail sale of goods'.

> – as the text allows us to think – at the time of Kotys. The name of this emporion reproduces the name of the mother city, Pistiros, and its citizens are called belanaprasenians.

The excavation report cites only one piece of supporting archaeological evidence, the similarity between the gate from Vetren and the 5th-century fortifications on Thasos (Домарадски 1991, 48). The short period between discovery and publication and the format of the preliminary reports did not allow detailed consideration of archaeological finds. The inscription became the cornerstone on which new understanding of Vetren was built from 1990 until now. It is an extraordinary case of how one find, mystified by the presence of text, can transform interpretations.

On epigraphic matters, Domaradzki most likely followed the reading of his doctoral supervisor Velizar Velkov and Lidia Domaradzka, his colleague and wife. Their subsequent publication (Velkov & Domaradzka 1994) placed the inscription in a broader historical context and laid out textual evidence to justify the thesis formulated in Domaradzki's preliminary excavation report. Velkov and Domaradzka postulated that there were two sites: Pistyros/Bistiros, a *polis* on the Aegean coast, and Pistiros, an *emporion* in inner Thrace; traders from Pistyros founded *emporion* Pistiros, which can be identified with the settlement at Vetren, a "Greek establishment ... [which] may well have had a clear commercial purpose" (Velkov & Domaradzka 1994, 7). Let us assess these theses one by one.

(1) There are two sites, Pistyros/Bistiros near the Aegean coast, and Pistiros in inner Thrace. Herodotos (7.109) mentions a city called Pistyros (*Πίστυρος*), near a salty lake on the Aegean littoral, which Xerxes passed after crossing the Nestos River, c. 480 BC. This site is thought to lie near modern Pontolivado in Greece (Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1973, 520–33). Following Stephanos of Byzantion (171, 6–7), who lists "Bistiros, a polis in Thrace, and Pistiros, an emporion", Velkov and Domaradzka argue that there were two homonymous cities, and the inscription found near Vetren helps to locate the *emporion*.

Then the epigraphists contend that (2) Pistiros in inner Thrace was founded by Pistyros on the Aegean: this is an inference, based on the similarity between the names, and the assumption of Thasian commercial ambitions in Thrace.

(3) Pistiros from the inscription is an emporion. Velkov and Domaradzka linked the inscription from Vetren to the passage from Stephanos of Byzantion that mentions

"Pistiros, an emporion". In their reading of the inscription about Pistiros, "its inhabitants are called emporitai" (Velkov & Domaradzka 1994, 5, 1996, 209).

(4) Vetren is a trading post (emporion). The epigraphic publication refers to the coins, amphorae, Attic pots, and lead weights as evidence for trade (Домарадски 1995, 54–61). Because of the presence of Greek material culture, Velkov and Domaradzka (1994, 6–7) characterise Vetren as "a Greek establishment … with a clear commercial purpose".

(5) The Pistiros inscription pertains to Vetren. This thesis is based on the synchronicity of the site and the inscription (Velkov & Domaradzka 1994, 2) and the trade-related and imported artefacts. According to Velkov and Domaradzka (1994, 7) though, "the most important index in favour of this identification" is the funerary stele of "Dionysios son of Diotrepheos, of Apollonia", found at the site (*IGBulg* III.1 1067–1068=*SEG* 43:485). The epitaph concurs with the mention of Apollonians at Pistiros from l. 32 of the Pistiros inscription.

The epigraphic argument makes several problematic links – some were discussed already in 1999 by Benedetto Bravo and Andrzej Chankowski, and explored further by Denise Demetriou (2010). Stephanos of Byzantion, the key historical source for statements (1) and (2), wrote in the 6th century AD. Over the ten centuries separating his writing from the Pistiros inscription, many pronunciation variants, spelling tweaks, and transcription errors may have occurred and produced two misleadingly different names for the same town (Chankowski & Bravo 1999, 282–3). The meaning of '*emporion'* also changed in ways I will discuss later. Denise Demetriou (2010) revisited the linguistic and historical evidence to re-evaluate the key phrase of Stephanos of Byzantium, which opposes Pistiros and Bistiros/Pistyros (*Βίστιρος, πόλις Θράκης, ὡς Πίστιρος ἐμπόριον*). By reference to further textual examples, she shows that the preposition *ὡς* can be read as explanatory (Bistiros, a *polis* in Thrace, also Pistiros an *emporion*) rather than oppositional. She further highlights that Stephanos of Byzantion was interested in variations of sound, rather than giving precise categories of polities (*polis*/*emporion*). The frequent transition of *b* into *p* in Thracian toponyms served his interest, and further suggests that Bistiros and Pistiros were the same place. Thus in Demetriou's and Bravo's readings, Stephanos of Byzantium referred to only one site called Pistiros, the same that Herodotos locates near the Aegean coast. Hence, the existence of two sites, Pistiros and Bistiros/Pistyros (1), is a hypothesis based solely on problematic reading of a written source. The proposal that one founded the other (2) is an inference based on this hypothesis.

Contrary to statement (3), the inhabitants of Pistiros are *not* explicitly called *emporitai* in the inscription from Vetren (Tacheva 2007, 591; Chankowski 2010, 245). Bravo highlights several points where the inscription treats Pistiros and the Pistirenoi as different from the *emporia* and the *emporitai* (Bravo & Chankowski 1999, 279). In the first half, the text alternates between listing guarantees for the *emporitai* (l. 4–13, 18–19) and for Pistiros (l. 13–17). In the second half, we find a distinction between "Pistiros and the *emporia*" (l. 22–24), though both have the same privileged trading relations with Maroneia. Although it seems plausible, we cannot be sure that the two groups overlap, and the Pistirenoi are *emporitai,* and that, consequently Pistiros from the inscription is an *emporion*. Finally, the epitaph of Dionysios from Apollonia found at Vetren does concur with the inscription (5), but the presence of a single Apollonian does not conclusively corroborate that Vetren is Pistiros.

It transpires that early publications relied on largely textual evidence and its interpretation is not entirely robust: the same texts could be (and have been) used to support opposed readings. Despite these problems, the inscription exerted strong influence over interpretations of Vetren. There are multiple reasons for this.

One factor is the prescriptive rapport between textual and archaeological evidence. Texts and material culture are two complementary sources of information, but in Mediterranean archaeology (e.g., Ancillotti & Cerri 1996), and in Thracian studies, textual sources are often given primacy and archaeological data are interpreted in the shadow of texts (Owen 2003; Dimova 2011, 22–3). As Domaradzki (1993, 41) put it,

> One can reconstruct the details of the long-term development of Pistiros by studying the excavated artefacts and surface finds. The most valuable and the most secure information is that found on an inscription.

He later reiterated (Domaradzki 2000, 29):

> The inscription found in 1990 resolved in the most expedient manner the enigma which we wanted to clarify by archaeological means: the function of the site.

Unfortunately, the inscription did not solve any 'enigma'. Although the text offers statements more readily absorbed into a historical narrative than archaeological data, its interpretation is not straightforward. This is clear from the contradicting interpretations and the debate it continues to inspire. Recent contributions (Demetriou 2010, 2012, 157–

87; Graninger 2012) add alternative epigraphic comparanda, reminding us that the meaning of a text shifts according to its changing context.

Even at a fundamental level, epigraphic reconstruction and translation are not neutral processes (see Owen 2003). Several unclear or unfamiliar words in the inscription have received divergent translations, e.g., *emporitai* could be traders (*emporoi*) or inhabitants; *epaulistai* could be bivouacking troops or the local population. The reconstruction of *[κλ]ήρους* in line 16 best illuminates how the reading of a text depends on its context and expectations of the reader. Having accepted they are dealing with a Greek colonial settlement, the epigraphists reconstructed lines 16–17 as "the *kleroi* of the inhabitants of Pistiros are not to be changed nor handed over to another" (Velkov & Domaradzka 1996, 207). This creates the impression that Pistiros was a city with territories organised in Greek colonial style agricultural allotments, recognised by the local ruler. In the revised transcription *[κλ]ήρους*, "allotments", was reconstructed as *[όμ]ήρους*, "hostages", to fit better with the following verb *λαμβάνειν*, "to seize" (Domaradzka & Chankowski 1999, 250). The meaning of the line, and its historical implications change: "hostages of the Pistirenoi are not to be seized".

Ultimately, the relationship between site and inscription was resolved as an argument *ex silentio.* Vetren was identified as Pistiros because it is the only contemporary town in the area: if not here, where could Pistiros be?[45]

There are many valid reasons why the inscription excited scholars, and why idea of excavating an inland Greek *emporion* appealed. What is problematic is that archaeological evidence was enlisted to support the *emporion* Pistiros interpretation in haste, after the argument had been formulated on epigraphic grounds, and that dialogue between archaeology and text is not explicit in the early publications. Today the archaeological arguments that Vetren was a trading centre need re-examination in the light of the new archaeological evidence, as I will do below. But at the time of the early epigraphic publication, few data had been analysed, and Greek pots, coins, and amphorae were uncritically interpreted as evidence for Greek traders.

[45] Several scholars have since proposed that the inscription refers to the only Pistiros on the Aegean (Chankowski & Bravo 1999; Demetriou 2010).

The problem of using preliminary archaeological data becomes evident as Velkov and Domaradzka's article moves from nuance to certainty. For example one passage on p. 7 reads:

> The discoveries could well indicate that we are dealing with an establishment with a clear/purely commercial purpose. It is therefore tempting to conclude that the Pistiros mentioned in the inscription must be identified with the site under excavation.

Then the conclusion (Velkov & Domaradzka 1994, 14) boldly advertises the opportunity to excavate an inland Greek *emporion* in Thrace:

> Vetren-Pistiros provides us with the opportunity to examine one such emporion … No other non-Greek region has offered to this date a possibility for a study of this type.

The publication became programmatic for the interpretation of Vetren: it was reprinted in Domaradzki's book on Thracian-Greek commercial relations and in the first volume of the Pistiros series (Велков & Домарадска 1995; Velkov & Domaradzka 1996). A cyclical and self-reinforcing argument developed.

Printed in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique,* this article publicised the 'Greek' and 'commercial' nature of the settlement to an international Classicist audience. Recasting Vetren from royal Thracian residence into Greek *emporion* elevated the site's significance at a regional level, and opened doors for international collaboration and funding. The curious case of an inland Greek *emporion* appealed to the broader academic community: between 1992 and 1997 the project grew to include teams from Bradford, Prague, and the French School at Athens. The project persisted through the 1990s, an economically precarious and politically hostile period in Bulgaria (Archibald 2002c, 315–18; cf. Bailey 1998; Nikolov 2002). Continuing fieldwork depended on funds from Classical institutions in Prague and Athens, available so long as the site was within the scope of 'Greek' archaeology. Tellingly, the French survey ended once Veronique Chankowski (2010) declared that she found no evidence for Greek presence around Vetren. For the Bulgarian side, excavating a Greek colony held more appeal than a Thracian town, because Greek antiquities make Bulgaria part of 'Classical (viz. European) civilisation'. Hence, the dominant interpretation of Vetren as *emporion* Pistiros persisted,

and the site reinforced the traditional understanding of Greek-Thracian relations as a colonial affair.

To end the epigraphic discussion, I will briefly consider what the Pistiros inscription brings to the question of Thracian-Greek interactions. The text offers information about trade routes and fiscal practices: lifting the taxes on trade between Maroneia, Pistiros, and 'the other *emporia*' supposes that such taxes existed in the first place, and that royal authorities could have a flexible involvement in regulating trade between third parties.

The text also reveals that as early as the 350s BC Thracian rulers and Greek traders (settlers?) regulated their relations through formal contracts written in Greek. Apart from its early date, the inscription is not an isolated example. One good parallel is the Hellenistic inscription whereby Mesambria grants a local ruler named Sadalas citizenship, various honours, and annual tribute (Graninger 2012, 106; *IGBulg*. I^2 307, V 5086). Both inscriptions constitute an agreement sealed with an oath renewing existing contracts. Conferring the spoken word to stone reinforced its longevity, helping agreements to last over generations of rulers. In both cases, the contract was guaranteed by a religious connection – in Vetren by Dionysos, and in Mesambria, the stele is set in Apollo's sanctuary. This implies all parties recognised the deity's authority and sanctuary. Arguably, this situates Thracian-Greek relations in a wide Mediterranean practice, whereby religious contexts were often intimately connected to cross-cultural contact and commerce (Demetriou 2012 cf. Gravisca, Pyrgi). Unlike the bilateral document from Mesambria though, the Pistiros inscription regulates the use of military power, property rights, and legal issues, in a situation of multilateral engagement (Archibald 2011; Demetriou 2012, 163–87).

The important points to take away from the epigraphic debate are what the inscription shows, what it obscures, and what it cannot tell us. The contract illustrates the practice of regulating Thracian-Greek relations through stone inscriptions. However, the discovery of the inscription steered the site's interpretation on a tangent, owing to a combination of circumstances and a problematic rapport between text and archaeology. As Gotzev (2013, 18) observes, the "question [whether Vetren was *emporion* Pistiros] will maybe always remain open as long as we want to solve a purely historical question by archaeological research". The inscription constitutes one element to the larger picture, and we need to assess all available data separately in order to understand the site.

1.3. Historical arguments: Pistiros founded by Thasos

Historical circumstances provide another argument for interpreting Vetren as a Thasian *emporion*. After the epigraphic hypothesis was formulated, Domaradzki proposed that Thasos turned to Thrace in the mid-5th century, because Athens had seized the Thasian continental territories and silver mines (Домарадски 1995, 26–7):

> pushed out of their continental possessions by Athens, [the Thasians] were forced to seek new territories for economic activity. Using their old friendly relations with the Satroi and the patronship of the main deity, Dionysos, … they crossed the Rhodope mountains and founded a trading settlement on the northern border of the Satroi.

Domaradzki's argument involves several inferences from the following historically-attested events. Thasos was member of the Delian League and contributed navy ships as tribute. As Athens was encroaching on Thasos' rich continental territory, in the 460s BC Thasos rebelled. Athens crushed the rebellion, seized the mines in Mount Pangaion, and forced Thasos to pay annual tribute, *phoros* (Thucydides 1.100–101). According to the *Athenian Tribute Lists*, Thasos paid 3 talents per year; that increased to 30 talents between 447/6 and 444/3 BC (Meritt *et al.* 1950, 259). Asserting that this increase was contemporaneous with the settling of Vetren, Domaradzki proposed that the foundation of Pistiros provided access to new markets (Домарадски 1995, 27) and a new source of mineral riches (Domaradzki 1993, 51). By implication, this helped augment Thasos' revenue and its tribute to Athens.

Other scholars have voiced scepticism towards the Thasian foundation narrative. Olivier Picard accepted that Vetren was *emporion* Pistiros, "a Thracian site" (Picard & Brunet 2008, 125) where 'Greek' merchants traded under the aegis of a local authority (Picard 1999, 331). Picard conceded that the amphorae and fortifications showed strong Thasian presence at Vetren, but – he added – "the hypothesis [that Vetren was founded by Thasians exiled in 463 BC] goes too far" (Picard 2000, 65). Elsewhere Archibald (2010, 337) asserted that Vetren was built by a local ruler, perhaps Sitalkes. The colonial foundation narrative has not been recently reiterated, but it has also not been re-assessed. I will attempt a long-overdue re-appraisal.

The reconstructed narrative of Pistiros as a Thasian foundation hinges on indirect links that are difficult to corroborate with extant archaeological evidence. First, Athenian interest in

Aegean Thrace is historically attested, but Thasos' ambition and capacity to establish a trading post in inner Thrace are only assumed. This assumption derives from the popular model which essentialises 'Greeks' as traders and the agents of economic expansion. Second, the existence of the colonising/trading route through the Rhodope Mountains is hypothetical; any enquiry of this route needs to account for the dearth of 5th century bulk imports in the west Rhodope beyond Koprivlen. Third, the chronological argument is also uncertain: the wall's construction date, c. 450–425 BC is wide and was asserted without publishing the supporting evidence (see p. 211 below).

Finally, Thasos may have been paying higher taxes to Athens for many reasons (see Pébarthe 1999 for review of proposed explanations). The common opinion is that Thasos paid higher tribute because its revenues grew but scholars divide on the reason for this growth: either Athens returned the mines on the continent, or Thasian trade prospered, including trade with inner Thrace via Pistiros (Domaradzki 1993, 51; Graham 1999, 82–4; following Pouilloux 1954, 109–21). An alternative view highlights that the figure which begs explanation is not the elevated tax in 444/3 BC but the low amount in 447/6 BC. Athens might have reduced Thasos' taxes as indemnity for war damage or because it had seized the continental Thasian mines in place of cash. Both of these explanations are possible in view of the link between a city's *phoros* rate and its resources demonstrated by Nixon and Price (1990). The historical data do not lead towards a single conclusion why the tribute paid by Thasos varied.

We should also remember that the *Athenian Tribute Lists* contain many anomalies we do not understand and they are not a complete source of tribute data (Unz 1985, 29ff.). *Phoros* payments recorded in the *Tribute Lists* were supplemented by tribute in kind. The contributions of cities in the Delian League increased and decreased according to various circumstances. For example, Galepsos' and Argilos' *phoros* decreased at the same time as Thasos, while those of 40 other cities increased (Pébarthe 1999, 147–8). Considering the myriad possibilities and the patchy evidence, we cannot determine why Thasos paid 3 and then 30 talents to Athens, and whether the increase bore any relation to trade revenues from inner Thrace.

Ultimately, the epigraphic and historical sources are too tangential and ambiguous to prove Domaradzki's hypothesis that after the war Thasos sought new markets, including in inner Thrace. The Thasian foundation narrative was built on interdependent arguments and assumptions which have not been corroborated by independent evidence.

1.4. Archaeological arguments

Archaeological evidence was used sparsely in early discussions of Vetren as a Thasian *emporion* and the Pistiros inscription. Domaradzki (1993, 40–7, 1996) published what he considered the key evidence in support of his thesis: trading lead weights; transport amphorae, most of which he believed to be Thasian; late 5th century coins typologically related to Thasos (Satyr and Nymph type); and alleged similarity between fortifications at Vetren and Thasos.

After more data had accumulated, Gocha Tsetskhladze (2000, 234–9, 2011) challenged the identification of Vetren with Pistiros. First, Tsetskhladze argued, if there were a sizeable community of resident Greek colonists, we would expect to find more than sixteen Greek names among the 250 *graffiti*. We would also expect Greeks to bring their cults, like elsewhere in the Mediterranean; but Vetren has neither structures nor mobile material culture related to Aegean religious practices, except for six terracotta figurines. There are however numerous clay altars, typical for religious practice in Thrace. Tsetskhladze also highlights the two burial mounds near the site, which show that wealthy or powerful people from Vetren followed local elite burial practice. Tsetskhladze's second argument (2011, 19) is that Vetren was not a major trading port, because the amphorae, imported pottery, and coins were too few compared to river-harbours in Skythia like Kamenskoe where amphora sherds number 42000 (Гаврилюк 1999, 178–81).

Tsetskhladze's contributions underscored the need for quantitative analysis and raised the question: which are the suitable comparanda for Vetren? His data-handling however was problematic (Archibald 2002b, 131 n. 1). Quantitative comparisons between sites can only bring robust information when the data are normalised, accounting for historical and geographical context, the excavated area, chronology, taphonomy, methods of data recovery and processing. At present, it is difficult to discern to what extent each of these variables affects the Vetren data. Even consolidating basic statistics from the publications is difficult, as Tsetskhladze (2011, 17) admitted. Nevertheless, if such complications are not taken on board, counting Attic sherds as a measure of 'Greekness' and coins and amphorae as evidence for trade is overly simplistic and obscures the complex processes that produced the assemblage.

Robust comparisons also require appropriate examples. Tsetskhladze's contrast between amphora and coin figures from Vetren and Kamenskoe is misleading because the Hebros

and the Dniepr Rivers had very different capacities for cargo transport and monetisation in Skythia and Thrace was shaped by different historical factors (see Chapter II for Thrace). In Tsetskhladze's view, Vetren resembled royal residences like Vani, Seuthopolis, Skythian Neapolis, and Kabyle (Tsetskhladze 2000, 233–9). Another proposed parallel is Kale Krševica, a contemporary town in the west Balkans, also with a good measure of imports; the excavators argued that Vetren and Krševica exemplified indigenous Balkan urbanism (Vranić 2012). Archibald (2011) argued that Vetren has more in common with Mediterranean *emporia* and other gateway communities than any Thracian sites; in her view, it was a specially regulated "transhipment centre for the surrounding region and beyond" (Chiverrell & Archibald 2010, 298; see also Archibald 2001, 2011). However, being inland, Vetren contrasts with other known *emporia* like Naukratis, Emporion and Gravisca (Demetriou 2012).

The question of comparisons relates to how we define '*emporion*'. In antiquity the word *emporion* was used flexibly and its meaning changed over time. Classical-period texts distinguish between *emporia* as overseas market towns, and *emporia* as wholesale markets within towns in mainland Greece (Hansen 2006). In the 4th century, *emporion* sometimes designated a protected market with specific judicial and institutional regulations, e.g. in Athens (Hansen 1997, 47; Wilson 1997). Archibald has argued that Pistiros from the inscription fits this narrow 4th century definition of *emporion* (2011), and the archaeological site of Vetren fits the wider definition of a major trans-shipment port, facilitating long-distance cross-cultural trade. I will revisit the recent evidence for this below, whilst remembering that the few written sources on *emporia,* do not necessarily exhaust all possibilities of the term (Demetriou 2011).

What is at stake in these definitions and the debate on the foregoing pages, are different models of Thracian-Greek relations and the issue of historical agency: can we envisage Thracian urbanism and indigenous trade networks without Greek impetus, and can we envisage Greek involvement beyond colonialism? Given the discussion in Chapter II, the answer is 'yes'; the evidence from Vetren challenges us to imagine a new scale and form of interactions.

All sides of the debate admit that Vetren does not conform to familiar models from Thrace, nor from the colonial Greek realm – the site is "positively idiosyncratic" (Archibald 2001, 260). As the review also shows, the interpretation of Vetren faces two inter-

connected challenges: clarifying the relationship between historical and archaeological sources, and understanding how Vetren relates to broader historical processes.

To address these issues, I will discuss the archaeological evidence separately from the inscription. The archaeological data allow us to verify if, as suggested, Vetren was a river-harbour, and a regional redistributive centre with a large Greek population, and a colonial outlook. Where possible, I will use quantitative comparisons. While the comparanda discussed by other scholars are instructive, if we want to understand whether Vetren was exceptional, we should look at contemporary sites in Thrace, which I introduced in Chapter II. In the concluding section, I will return to broader comparisons and reunite archaeological and historical evidence in order to establish the nature of Thracian-Greek interactions at Vetren and how and why did people in Thrace adopt Greek technologies, practices, and objects.

We cannot identify if Vetren's inhabitants were Thracian or Greek, but we can explore how their daily practices shaped who they were, and how they developed relations of identity and difference. The following sections (2–6) will explore how the experience of living in Vetren compared to living elsewhere in Thrace and in Aegean cities in terms of funerary and religious practices, the daily economic activities of production, exchange, and consumption. We will also consider what Greek material culture, technologies, and practices were imported at Vetren, how, and why.

2. Landscape and site development

2.1. Landscape

Let us now place Vetren in a geographical context. As with Apollonia, my key concerns here are how local resources and connectivity shaped the development of interactions between the Aegean and Thrace (in this case, Vetren).

Figure 4.2. Vetren (Adzhiiska Vodenitsa) and the surrounding landscape

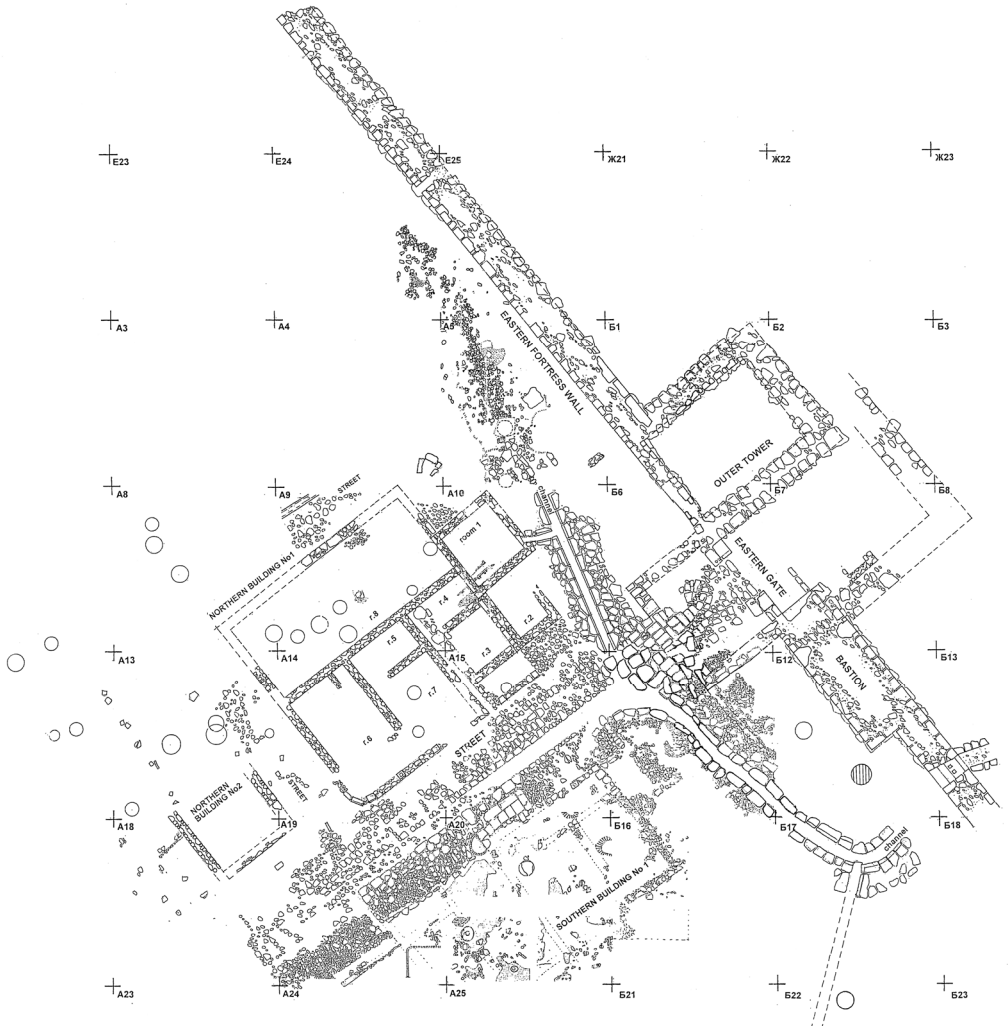


Figure 4.3. Vetren - the central excavated area (courtesy of Septemvri Archaeological Museum)

Vetren lies in a fertile alluvial plain which today is suitable for pasture and agriculture. Low rock outcrops of granodiorite, granites, and marbles lie 2 km north-west of Vetren; they are the likely source of the stones for the fortification wall and the inscription (Fouache & Chankowski 2000). The Rhodope Mountains rise suddenly and beautifully in the south, to about 1000 m; river valleys connect the Rhodope highlands to the plain. Some of the Hebros tributaries, like Topolnitsa, are gold-bearing; a number of local toponyms relate to metalworking; and several modern copper and iron mines lie in the hills around the Hebros valley (Батаклиев 1969, 23–4). We have no evidence however that they were exploited in antiquity (Fouache & Chankowski 2000, 652–4).

Vetren stands on the north bank of River Hebros. Rising water levels and shifting meanders caused periodic flooding (Chiverrell & Archibald 2010, 290). Eventually the river washed away much of the ancient settlement and buried its surroundings under alluvium; subtle associated sites and features may lie under layers of sediment (Chiverrell & Archibald 2010, 297).

Vetren stood at a crossroads between the east-west route along the Hebros valley and the north-south route across the Rhodope Mountains (Домарадски 1995). As we saw in Chapter II, the Hebros valley was a major communication and trade axis. Scholars have argued that River Hebros was navigable, because in the 1890s one Turkish company obtained permission to sail steamers to Pazardzhik, 30 km downstream (Bouzek 1996c, 221). According to another source, iron bars were moved via rafts downstream until railways were built in 1873 (Георгиев 1978; Kenderova *et al.* 2007, 277). Geomorphological studies however show that this was possible thanks to increased water levels during a cooler period in the 15th–19th century AD (Kenderova *et al.* 2007, 277). A similar climatic episode began in the early 3rd century BC, but the preliminary publications of Kenderova *et al*. do not affirm the existence of a harbour before this point.

Another geomorphological study found that in antiquity the river meandered as it flowed by Vetren. It was probably fuller before the introduction of modern irrigation, but water discharge was still subject to dramatic seasonal variation (Fouache & Chankowski 2000, 645–51). Although the different geomorphological studies leave some open questions (Baltakov *et al.* 2002; cf. Fouache & Chankowski 2000, 643–51; Kenderova *et al.* 2007; Chiverrell & Archibald 2010), it is unlikely that Vetren had a river port larger than a small beach-harbour. The river probably allowed shallow-water rafts in the wetter months (Fouache & Chankowski 2000, 651), and transport was considerably easier

downstream than upstream. Even then, the fast waters ensuing from melting snow and rainfall would make it a treacherous journey for anyone who values their cargo. We should therefore envisage the Hebros valley as a terrestrial rather than a riverine route.

The southern, trans-Rhodope route is more elusive. There must have been multiple routes to and from the mountains, differently suited for walkers and pack animals, but they are difficult to identify. Pottery finds and fibulae show that mountain-dwellers were in contact with people in the Hebros valley and the Aegean coast from the EIA (Георгиева 2003; Нехризов 2006b; Gotzev forthcoming). However, given the absence of imported pottery and amphorae beyond the Nevrokop valley and the near-absence of coins in the west Rhodope, it is clear that connections across the mountains differed from those in the Hebros valley, perhaps involving non-monetised exchange.

In sum, Vetren was located in the open plain, with good agricultural resources, construction material, and metal ore available in the vicinity, and with a strategic position for several routes. This background differs dramatically from the typical coastal setting of Greek-indigenous interactions. Significantly, Vetren had no stable water-route, so most communication and trade was done overland. The next section begins to examine how Thracian-Greek relations unfolded in this geographical setting.

2.2. Site development

The current chronological scheme of Vetren distinguishes between three phases. Phase 1 lasted from the foundation to the restructuring of the eastern gate area (c. 450–380 BC). Phase 2 (c. 380–280 BC) was a period of prosperity, ending with a destruction episode c. 280 BC. Phase 3 comprises industrial activity following destruction of the city.

Phase 1 is obscure and subject of speculations, such as the Thasian foundation narrative (p. 194ff. above). The earliest finds – a couple of coins (see below), early 5th century Attic pots (Archibald 1996), and a ceramic lamp (Jurina 1996) – were deposited in later strata. Several oval structures dating to Phase 1, were dug into the sterile soil in trenches B21–B23, B'2–B'3 (Гоцев & Петрова 2014, 145 fig. 1–2). They start at the same level as the fortification wall, and the pottery from their lowest levels dates c. 450–400 BC; some have visible postholes and hearths marking a floor (Vyara Petrova pers. comm.). Similar dugouts were found in trench A20 (Bouzek & Musil 2007, 66–7, 2013, 40). These structures probably represent the earliest dwellings.

The first street surface and the fortification wall also reportedly date to Phase 1 (Figure 4.3–4). The wall foundation was made of large rectangular and polygonal stones with worked faces, sandwiching a filling of rubble stone without mortar (Kolarova 1996, 36–7).[46] Presumably, the stone foundation was followed by mudbrick walls and a tiled roof (Bouzek 1996a, 43). Domaradzki compared the fortifications to the Gate of Herakles and Dionysios and the Gate of Silenos on Thasos (Domaradzki 1993, 40), which are built with a similar technique but with much higher stone walls (Picard 1962 Pl. V, XIV; Grandjean 2011, 180–97, 215–222). The use of *orthostates* and sloping joints, which evoke polygonal masonry was considered "especially near to the Thasos walls" (Bouzek 1996a, 44; Kolarova 1996, 40). It is commonly accepted that the wall was built in the second half of the 5th century, although the published section drawings are not linked to published dating artefacts.[47]

Most of the excavated structures on the plan and most finds discussed below come from Phase 2 (c. 380–280 BC). Several structures along the main street had stone foundations, mudbrick walls, and tiled roofs. North Building 1 had an open portico onto the street and several rooms; according to the excavators, it served for trading activities. 'Southern House' across the street was interpreted as a domestic context (Bouzek & Musil 2007, 2010, 2013).

Beyond the buildings with stone foundations, the site plan looks misleadingly barren. It was most probably populated by less durable architecture, which survives as fragments of daub and wall plaster. For example, remains of collapsed walls and floor surfaces, and a range of household equipment, help to identify domestic spaces in trench D24 (Арчибалд 2013, 2014). Fragmented terracotta decorations and glazed roof tiles suggest that ornate buildings stood by the East Gate (Bouzek *et al.* 2008, 94). Traces of various industrial activities are found south of the Gate, including a smithy in B21 (Арчибалд 2013), and several kilns in B'2–B'3 (Gotzev & Petrova 2013a), although it is not yet clear if these features were contemporaneous. Finally, concentrations of pits south of the Bastion and in

[46] The term *emplekton,* commonly used for this technique, is misleading (see Braconi 2001).

[47] Emil Nankov (2008, 36, 47 Table 5) questioned the pre-Hellenistic date, since comparable fortifications with thick walls and roofing across the Mediterranean are dated after 330 BC; his challenge has not received a response. Ongoing excavations in sq. B23–B24 promise to settle the wall construction chronology.

the north-west periphery of the site have been interpreted as 'pit sanctuaries', but some of them evidently served as granaries and then were reused as rubbish pits for domestic or industrial purposes (Archibald 2002a; Лазов 2013).

Around the mid-4th century, several structures appeared outside the city walls: a ceramic kiln designed for firing roof-tiles but also used for pottery (Taneva 2011, 2013), and two houses west of the town, occupied between c. 350–300 BC (Bouzek & Musil 2002, 2003a, 2003b).

A burning layer around the East Gate and a coin hoard buried c. 280 (Bouzek & Musil 2001, 2007, 64–5) show that Vetren was burnt in the early 3rd century (Domaradzki 1996, 30–1; Юрукова & Домарадски 1990, 5). Domaradzki posited that Vetren was destroyed by the Celts, but evidence is limited (one Douchov-type fibula over the destructions, a possible spearhead, and a series of seemingly contemporaneous destructions elsewhere in Thrace). After the fire, occupation and craft production continued at Vetren, although the fortifications were not restored.

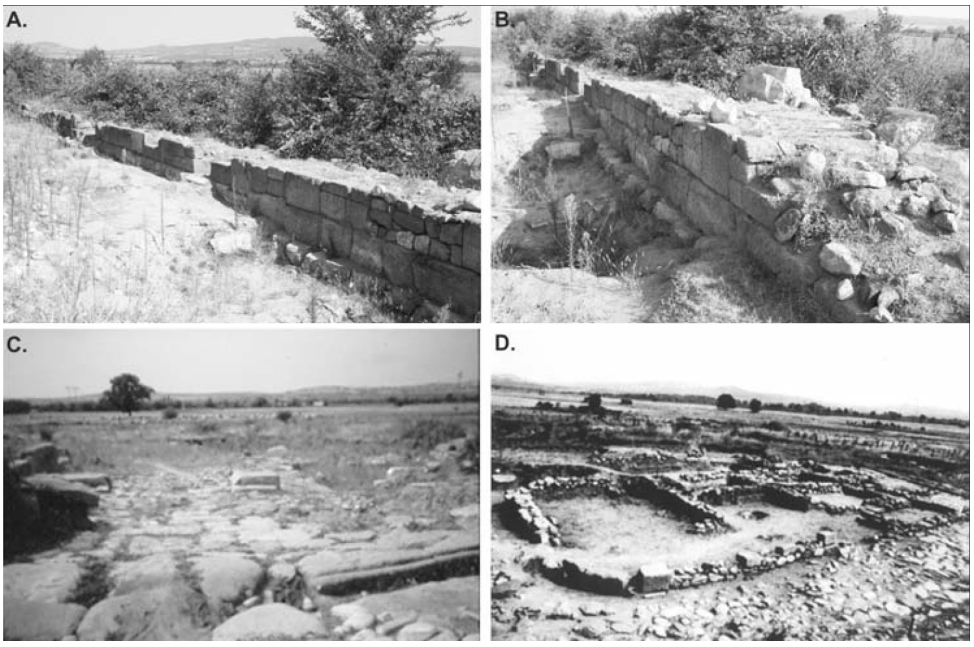


Figure 4.4. Vetren ramparts (a–b), street and drain (c), North Building 1 (d) (Chiverrell & Archibald 2010, 295 fig. 5)

Discussion

Interpreting these extremely fragmentary data and refining the building sequence and spatial organisation at Vetren is a challenging future task.

The earliest dugout dwellings from Vetren have been linked to the colonial interpretation, because they resembled the earliest dwellings in north Pontic *apoikiai* (Bouzek & Musil 2007, 66–7, 2013, 40). However, as I discussed in Chapter III, wattle-and-daub dugout dwellings are found across many cultures, including Iron Age Thrace (cf. Pet Mogili, Shumen, Rassilitsa in Appendix 1) and in Greece. The dugouts at Vetren could easily belong to an indigenous tradition, but the evidence remains ambiguous until full publication of the finds.

The stone architecture paints a clearer picture, showing the sudden appearance of a planned and fortified settlement. This scale of civic infrastructure is not known from contemporary sites in Thrace, and masonry architecture was still foreign to Thracian building traditions in the 5th century. Therefore building the fortifications at Vetren required foreign expertise and, specifically, involvement from masons, builders, and architects trained in the Aegean. The craft specialists probably came from the north Aegean, where apparently this construction technique was widely used, e.g. at Thasos, Amphipolis, Stageira, and Samothrace (Bouzek 1996a, 44).

One possible reason why the founders of Vetren wanted solid walls is that the city occupies a strategic yet vulnerable position in the open plain. The investment in such a fortification system (along with finds within) point to the trade-generated wealth of the city which the wall protected (Archibald 2010, 337). The patrons who commissioned the wall with up-to-date fortification features were probably also aware of its military advantages (Adam 1982, 77–8). Evidently, an individual or a group of people in the upper Hebros valley had the resources and interest in commissioning such a piece of architecture.

For now we cannot know who built the city, but considering other examples of 'Greek' architecture in Thrace like Chetinyova Mogila and the 6th-century wall from Vasil Levski (cf. Chapter II, Appendix 1), the wall from Vetren adds to the evidence for Aegean craftspeople working in Thrace, possibly on commission for local elites. If we abandon the 'Greek wall equals Greek city' paradigm, there is no reason to think that it was Thasian colonists. We can only identify the technological skills of Aegean builders, and we can infer why the wall was made: to enable the establishment of a city in a strategic yet vulnerable location, and to safeguard its wealth. Beyond functional explanations, the fortifications materialised the power of the authority who commissioned it. For Aegean visitors, the walls showed the commissionner's familiarity with Greek defence and building techniques. For people living within the city, the walls created a sense of enclosed

community, protected and controlled. At the same time, beyond the ramparts and the main street, the wattle-and-daub dwellings could easily fit in a Thracian settlement.

All this shows that in many ways Vetren was built different from other 5th century Thracian settlements (except Krastevich and Levski). Living in Vetren, walking its paved street with drains, looking at and dwelling in buildings with tiled roofs, would have been a different experience than living in contemporary Thracian settlements, and perhaps closer to the experience of living in Greek cities. Aegean building technologies were instrumental in constructing these differences. Each of these architectural techniques requires specialised labour, contributing to the entrenchment of differentiated labour relations. At the same time, they made Vetren materially other from contemporary Thracian settlements. These differences of economic and spatial organisation however do not necessarily translate into ethnic terms and do not make Vetren a Greek colony. Moreover, the wattle-and-daub structures which were not so foreign were also part of the urban fabric. I will now turn to other elements of this complex mosaic.

3. Religious and Funerary practice

3.1. Religion

The evidence for Aegean-style religious practices at Vetren comprises a few terracotta figurines (Dufkova 2002), four inscribed *astragaloi* (Appendix 6, Nos. 36–9) which might have served for divination (Domaradzka 2013b), and a few dedicatory *graffiti* (Appendix 6, Nos. 2–6). One Panathenaic amphora was offered by "Hekataios to God [Zeus]" and one black-glazed bolsal was inscribed "sacred". We cannot be certain if these imported vessels were inscribed at Vetren, or before the pots were brought here. Two names, DIONYSI-, KORA, could be dedications to deities or personal names. The rest of the potentially religious inscriptions are ambiguous and short (see Appendix 6 and p. 217ff. below). Overall, Vetren shows little evidence for dedications to Greek deities or religious practice, in contrast with other Hellenistic cities like Seuthopolis, Kabyle, and Sboryanovo, which yielded clear dedications to Greek deities (see Chapter II), or the material from Apollonia (Chapter III).

Vetren, however, has numerous clay altars (*escharae*), like those widely spread across LIA Thrace, discussed in Chapter II. Residue analysis on several altars from Vetren showed aromatic oil libations and bloodless food offerings. The concentration of altars south of the

East Gate and north-west of Building 1 suggests that these were areas designated for cult practice (Lazov 1996, 64–9).

The prevalence of altars and the minimal amount of Greek cult paraphernalia suggest that cults at Vetren had more in common with Balkan traditions than practices of Aegean origin. The evidence clearly contrasts with the picture from Apollonia, where the cult and temple of Apollo Ietros served to foster a community identity. In contrast, the loci of religious activity in Vetren were small altars, suited for small groups of participants who might have followed a variety of practices. The extant evidence for religious practice in Vetren suggests more commonality with Thracian than Greek traditions, although as we saw in Chapter II, clay altars might have also accommodated Aegean ways of sacrifice.

3.2. Tombs

Vetren's cemetery has not been located, except for two tumuli 500 m north of the site, in Oreshkovi Mogili locality; both were damaged. Excavations in Mound 1 found two granite blocks and "several dozen" pot sherds – the remains of a destroyed funerary structure, and associated feasting (Домарадски & Господинов 1992, 44). Mound 2 covered a looted chamber tomb (Figure 4.5); only some human bones and gilded wreath fragments survived (Венедиков 1946). The excavator, Venedikov, dated the tomb to the late 5th–early 4th century, citing similar tombs from Ruets and Staro Novo Selo (see Appendix 1). The gilded wreath suggests a (secondary?) burial occurred here after c. 370 BC (Peychova and Slavchova Mogila are the earliest tombs with gilded wreaths; see Appendix 1). Either way, the tomb is contemporary with Vetren and probably belonged to a wealthy person or lineage from the city, buried according to local traditions of funerary power display (cf. Chapter II). The tombs add weight to the hypothesis that Vetren was under the authority of a local ruler.

The extant evidence for burials and cults is clearly limited. We can only guess whether Vetren had temples, and how its inhabitants buried their dead. For now, the data show the prevalence of Thracian religious and burial practices, contrasting with the Apollonian case, where cult and burial were the site for forging a distinctive Apollonian/Greek identity. At the same time, the 'Thracian' structures we see in Vetren were either built using Aegean techniques (the tomb) or they could accommodate variations of foreign practice (the altars).

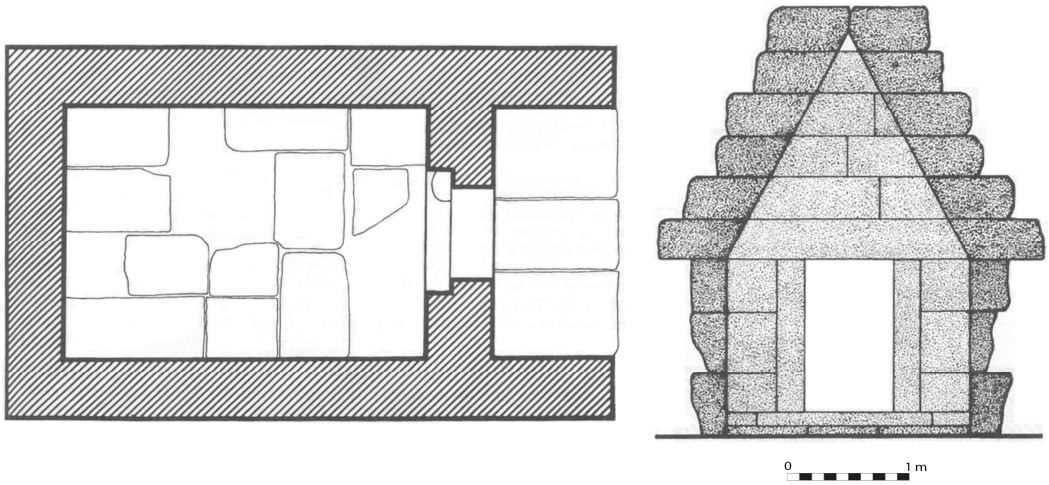


Figure 4.5. Oreshkovi Mogili tomb (Домарадски 1995, 69–70 fig. s.n.)

4. Literacy

The epigraphic data from Vetren and a few objects related to writing convey the degree and extent of literacy in the city, and offer insights on the place of writing as an imported technology in Vetren. Besides the Pistiros decree, excavations revealed several other stone inscriptions, and 134 *graffiti*, catalogued and discussed by Lidia Domaradzka. The data are tabulated in Appendix 6. Most of the *graffiti* are only two or three letters long, and occur on table vessels (see Appendix 6, Table 22–24). These inscriptions are too brief or fragmentary to allow certain reading (cf. Lang 1976, 1), and they simply show that most scribers' writing skill extended only to marking their drinking cup/bowl. Eight *graffiti* (Appendix 6, Nos. 23–30), marking volume, price, or other numerical values on local and imported pots. They show that Greek numbers and probably also measure standards were used on the market of Vetren. Both customers and traders would have been familiar with the notation. Such rudimentary literacy does not require knowledge of Greek.

Only five *graffiti* contain an identifiable phrase (Nos. 31–5). For example, one Panathenaic amphora was dedicated from Hekataios to Zeus; another amphora was "Athenagores' salary for a day"; and one *oinochoe* declares "I belong to Eroxeinos". These inscriptions on Attic pottery are earlier and more accomplished than the rest of the corpus, suggesting that the vessels were imported already inscribed, or that they were the work of an experienced hand. A 4th-century lamp with an alphabet-writing exercise and some scratched drawings (Appendix 6, No. 1) illustrates the process of acquiring literacy, probably by someone living on site.

The *graffiti* from Vetren appear very modest compared to extreme cases like Athens, where thousands of inscriptions were scribbled for all sorts of reasons (Lang 1976). Compared against other Hellenistic sites in Thrace however, Vetren shows a much wider and intensive use of writing. The Hellenistic-period cities of Sboryanovo and Kabyle have yielded about 20 *graffiti* each; most other sites have only a few short *graffiti*, occasionally with names (Domaradzka 2005; cf. Appendix 6, Table 20). The only epigraphic collection, comparable to that of Vetren, comes from Seuthopolis: 140 *graffiti* (Чичикова 1984, 81–3; Chichikova 1987; Domaradzka 2005, 23–5). We cannot compare numbers because Seuthopolis was much more short-lived (c. 310s–280s BC), and its excavated area is tenfold that at Vetren. Yet, the *graffiti* from Seuthopolis show a similar composition: the majority are single- or double-letter inscriptions, a few are dedications to Greek deities (Herakles, Hera, Zeus), one name is written in full (ΑΡΙΞΕΝΟΣ), and there are six acrophonic numerals. In both cities, writing was used mostly for marking property, dealing at the market, and official documents.

Finally, the presence of Greek, alongside Thracian and Macedonian names in the *graffiti* (Appendix 6, Nos. 7–22, 32–5) supports the idea that Vetren had a mixed population. Comparison with Seuthopolis however makes it clear that this was not unusual for Thracian towns. Hence, the onomastic record does not support the interpretation of Vetren as a Greek colony, as the existing epigraphic publications submit. The presence of a mixed population probably contributed to the adoption of other imports, such as numeric notation, Aegean measurement systems, etc. An early 4th-century *skyphos* inscribed "κοτ[τ]αβίσκος Ἀπολλοδώρο" (Appendix 6, No. 34) even suggests the inhabitants of Vetren played the Greek sympotic game *kottabos*.

One bronze *stylus* (Martinez *et al.* 2015, 194 No. 156) and 27 clay *bullae* for tying documents attest the wider use of writing on perishable media. The *bullae* have intaglio ring impressions on the face and imprints of textiles, papyrus, leather, and/or cord on the back. They are stratigraphically dated before 310 BC and have been compared to finds from archives at Pella and Delos (Boussac 1993, 2011; Akamatis 2011; Gotzev & Petrova 2013a, 2013b). We may only guess whether the sealings once bound archival documents for state purposes or commercial transactions. The bullae certainly show is the presence of a small literate group at Vetren (scribes, merchants, or elites?). They also convey that the parties who sealed a contract recognised the written word as a legitimate way of arranging

relations. This is similar in spirit to the role of the Pistiros inscription: if a society is using written contracts, then writing is familiar as a tool of authority and regulation.

Nankov (2012) insists that writing was also used for private affairs in Hellenistic Thracian cities, judging by the presence of *styli* and sealing rings in Seuthopolis, but that is a hypothesis for future exploration.

We can conclude that people in Vetren had differing levels of literacy. A wide group of people would have been familiar with the concept of writing and used numerical notation for daily affairs at the market. The writing skill of most scribers only extended as far as marking their property, but a few more skilled hands used writing for wider purposes like making lists and dedications. The *bullae* suggest that the use of writing expanded to regulate commercial or administrative relations. Comparison with Seuthopolis reveals similar uses of writing and a similar degree of literacy – lower compared to Greek cities, but higher than anywhere else in Thrace.[48]

Societies adopted writing with differing enthusiasm and for different purposes – ceremonial, administrative, legislative, etc. (Stoddart & Whitley 1988; Sherratt 2003). Even in Classical Athens, literacy was fairly limited, compared to modern standards (Thomas 1992). The data here confirm the common opinion that Thrace showed relatively limited interest in writing, except in cities like Vetren and Seuthopolis. In the urban context, writing served practical purposes like marking property, quantity, or price, or official documentation like contracts and decrees. Such uses of writing are not surprising given that from their inception across a number of cultures, writing technologies developed to facilitate trade and administration in association with urbanism (Postgate *et al.* 1995; Cooper 2004). We can better understand the role of writing in mediating social and economic relations when we consider it as a technology adopted for specific purposes, rather than a sign of Greek presence.

[48] We have lost an unknown quantity of texts on perishable media, which means we are probably underestimating how common writing was and the variety of genres it was used for (Cornell 1991). Still, the brevity of most extant inscriptions suggests that most people had limited literacy.

5. Production and consumption

Having examined the use of writing, we will now explore technological exchange in craft production. This section will also address what we can infer about consumption practices at Vetren, because productive activities responded to particular consumption needs (and we lack discrete published contexts for examining consumption separately). The published material allows us to look at metal, pottery, and textile production.

5.1. Metal

The region around Vetren is rich in ore outcrops, but there is no archaeological evidence for mining contemporaneous with the city (see p. 208ff.). The metalworking data from Vetren comprises tools, installations, production debris, and finished metal objects, summarised in Table 6. The most visible metalworking evidence – three workshops, tools, and debris – dates after c. 280 BC (Phase 3). The only structural feature from the earlier phases is a small smithy furnace in trench B21. The rest of the material is debris and production tools: terracotta moulds, tuyères, hammers, slag, hammerscale, and corroded objects. Along with one gold ingot, they testify to various processes involving bronze alloys, ferrous, and precious metals to produce utilitarian and decorative objects.

Table 6. Metalworking evidence at Vetren (data after Domaradzki 2002c; Katincharova-Bogdanova 1996; 2002; Lazov 1996, 2002; Арчибалд 2013)

Phase	Installations	Tools	Products	Refuse
1	Smithy – B21		Corroded iron	Slag
2		3 tuyères Terracotta moulds Gold ingot	Copper alloy appliques, figurines Corroded iron	
3	3 workshops: S of bastion (for Thracian-type fibulae); in the ruins of Building 1; in sq. B12;	12 tuyères 10 crucibles 2 iron hammers	Fibulae, semi-manufactured items	

The evidence for bronze-working and two coin blanks suggest that a mint existed at Vetren too; I will examine arguments for this possibility in the discussion of coins below (p. 237).

Typological studies show that local craftspeople used similar tools as those found in Thrace and the broader region. The small, better-preserved hammer finds good parallels in Hellenistic finds from Illyria (Katincharova-Bogdanova 1996, 103–5). The crucibles'

shapes resemble items found from the Aegean to Central Europe and other Thracian towns (Katincharova 2002).

In sum, Vetren produced a variety of fine and crude metal objects. Some of these activities involved high degrees of technological expertise, and consequently economic specialisation. Metalworkers from Vetren shared tools, and probably also techniques, with craftspeople from Greek wider-spread traditions. In this respect, Vetren is not an exception. As far as comparable data exist, contemporary Thracian towns have also shown evidence for diverse and specialised metalworking – cf. the smelting furnace, ingots, and jeweller's tools from Sboryanovo (Стоянов *et al.* 2004, 19 fig. 30–33). Similarly, north Aegean cities imported technological know-how from their Thracian neighbours (see Kostoglou 2010).

Before continuing, we should note that the extant metalworking evidence from Vetren does not support the proposition that Vetren was a Thasian *emporion*, founded for extracting and trading metal ore from Thrace, explained in the beginning of the chapter (Domaradzki 2002c, 249; Katincharova 2002, 235): we simply have no sense of the scale of ore-extraction and metal production.

5.2. Ceramics

Vetren also produced pottery and roof-tiles. Preliminary reports mention fragmented kilns in sq. B'2–B'3 (Gotzev & Petrova 2013a) and one well-preserved kiln excavated outside the East Gate produced roof-tiles and some pottery from the mid-4th century onwards (Taneva 2011, 2013). While most of its production met the city's demand, Vetren probably also exported ceramics: characteristic stamps occurring on some Vetren roof-tiles also appear on roof-tiles found near Haskovo and Simeonovgrad, 160 km downstream along the Hebros (Домарадски 1995, 52).

The pottery at Vetren is classified in several categories which combine to make up assemblages for each household's needs (Figure 4.6). Attic and North Aegean Wares were imports. The *pithoi*, most of the coarse hand-made storage and cooking jars, and greyware and orange/redware table vessels were probably produced locally.

Greywares were the main table vessels at Vetren, like at Apollonia and elsewhere in Thrace. Their study is still in its initial stages[49] and we have few published comparative data from Thrace. But it is clear enough that the greyware from Vetren drew on several converging 'Greek' traditions. Some Ionian and Aeolian shapes that we saw introduced at Apollonia, like bowls with in-turned rims, remained popular at Vetren (Domaradzki 2002b, 190–5). These were supplemented by Attic shapes – one-handlers, salt-cellars, *skyphoi*, etc. – developed into local variants. For example in cup No. 65.1 in Domaradzki's paper (2002b, 205 fig. 8.9), the handle has the same shape and angle as a cup from the Athenian Agora (Sparkes & Talcott 1970 Pl. 30, No. 727), but the rim of the Vetren cup is in-set rather than rounded, and the profile is more conical than hemispherical. In lekane No. 31.1 (Domaradzki 2002b, 200 fig. 8.6) the rim resembles Agora Nos. 1828 and 1884, but the lip of the Vetren lekane is not grooved. This typological idiosyncrasy suggests that morphological models were taken from different places, and reworked into hybrid shapes.

The greywares from Vetren were technologically diverse too. While most grey pots are made of fine, purified clay with very small white inclusions (limestone/feldspar?) and occasional micro voids, some fabrics stand out even to the naked eye, e.g. the quartz-rich fabric in Figure 4.7e. By using different clay recipes and varying the firing conditions, potters achieved a variety of textures and shades in the vessels' core and surface finish, from glossy silver, through dark grey, to matte light blue (Figure 4.7). One group of vessels have similar shapes and macrofabrics to the greywares, but their surface is orange and gold, resulting from oxidising firing, and possibly a different slip. Further study could elucidate ceramic technology and innovation at Vetren.

These greyware pots are about 150–200 years later than the published greyware from Apollonia discussed in Chapter III. In the intervening period, potters in Thrace gradually

[49] Domaradzki's preliminary typology, published posthumously (2002b), now requires substantial amendment to include new excavated material. The observations in two subsequent commentaries (Bouzek & Domaradzka 2009; Bouzek & Domaradzki 2010) are, unfortunately, difficult to verify. All of Bouzek's references to parallels in the Athenian Agora volumes, which I checked for *skyphoi*, cups, one-handlers, and *louteria* are incomplete or inaccurate. Many of Bouzek's alleged similarities rely on potentially misleading comparisons between photographs and profile drawings, and most of his illustrations are reprinted from Domaradzki (2002b) and others (Василева 2008a, 142; Тонкова 2008b, 96, 2008c, 127) without credit.

adopted the potter's wheel and associated clay-processing and firing technologies. Each potter along the chain had to cultivate new muscle memory, a new sensorial experience of their craft, a new relationship to resources in their local landscape, and the infrastructure for producing pottery (potter's wheel, higher-firing kilns, and associated labourers). Through further experimentation and knowledge exchange, over several generations, Thracian potters developed a wide range of firing and clay-preparation recipes, and they incorporated new shapes in the repertoire. Greyware production probably flourished and diversified in Vetren because there was demand for such pots and the organisation of production in the city allowed potters to develop their craft. It is likely that the Vetren potters developed hybrid shapes because imported forms were popular in the city. By the time greyware repertoire incorporated Attic shapes, grey pottery had been standard 'Thracian' tableware for two centuries, becoming increasingly distant from its Ionian/Aeolian technological origins. The greywares at Vetren open a window onto the multi-layered, long-term entanglement between Greece and Thrace, in terms of technological transfer, changing consumption habits, and ongoing borrowing of foreign shapes.

The process of translating and transforming Attic forms in greyware was driven by particular consumption practices. The greyware repertoire contains amphorae and jugs for storing liquids, *lekanai* and *mortaria* for food preparation, and – most prominently – bowls for liquid food and drink. In contrast with the dozens of bowl variations, Domaradzki's typology contains only two flat plates (Domaradzki 2002b Nos. 43–4). To my knowledge, greyware plates have not been published from any other Thracian site whereas greyware fish-plates were common in the north Pontic region (Kowall 2005; Bylkova 2009 fig. 8; Handberg *et al.* 2009 fig. 5–6). Perhaps most meals in Vetren – and more widely in Thrace – were stews rather than dry plate food, so flat plates did not suit local habits of serving and eating (or wooden plates/flatbread were substituted for ceramic plates), and greyware shapes were selectively adopted into the local dining repertoire.

Coarseware comprises a substantial share of domestic assemblages (Figure 4.6), but has only received cursory commentary with generic comparison to "Greek models" in Athens and Thasos (see Bouzek 2010). Like table pottery, the published coarseware pots evidently comprise an assemblage of mixed influences. The typical local shapes include cylindrical jars for cooking and storage, with relief bands or lug handles. These simple and conservative shapes were used across Thrace from the EIA through the Hellenistic period.

It is assumed these hand-made jars were made locally, and complemented other modes of ceramic production in Vetren. There are also 'Greek' cooking pots: *lopas*, regular and spouted *chytrai* appear in the pottery from Southern House, and Houses A and B (Bouzek & Musil 2010 fig. 4.72.1; 4.73.14; 4.80.4; 4.76.35). Although their frequency is unclear, my impression from excavations, is that they are rare. Other coarseware shapes include portable stoves (*pyraunoi*) (Domaradzki 1996, 31 fig. 1.17 No. 43), and several semi-perforated griddles, probably for baking flatbreads (Bouzek 2013 Pl. 38.5).

Given that foodways and cooking are a particularly conservative part of people's lifestyle and identity (see Chapter I, p. 50), then the mix of cooking pots from Thracian and Greek traditions adds further evidence that Vetren had a mixed population. This proposition is strengthened by the fact that *chytrai* are not found in Thrace beyond coastal sites like Apollonia and Sladkite Kladentsi (see Chapter III).

Despite these differences however, there might be some long-term similarities in food preparation and consumption patterns between Thrace and Greece. During the Classical period, cooking and food-processing equipment in the Aegean was highly portable and relatively small, facilitating multiple meals through the day for various household members rather than a family meal around a home hearth (Foxhall 2007, 240). The *pyraunoi* from Vetren suggest that similar practices existed in Thrace. Although, we do not know how widespread their use was within a single place, portable hearths have been found on several Iron Age sites (Domaradzki 1986, 100; Vulcheva 2002b, 129; Тонкова & Сидерис 2011, 81; Ханджийска 2005, 711). *Pyraunoi* are not a new import to Thrace. Their appearance in the Balkans in the Late Bronze Age (Hristova 2011) and their wide spread from the Aegean to central Europe (Romsauer 2003) suggests they might be a remnant from a time of greater population mobility in the LBA–EIA (cf. Chapter II). Although we still know too little about the coarsewares, the examples here illustrate the multi-layered history of cultural borrowing and exchange between Thrace and the Aegean. In the light of this discussion, the cooking pots are one very promising avenue for future research.

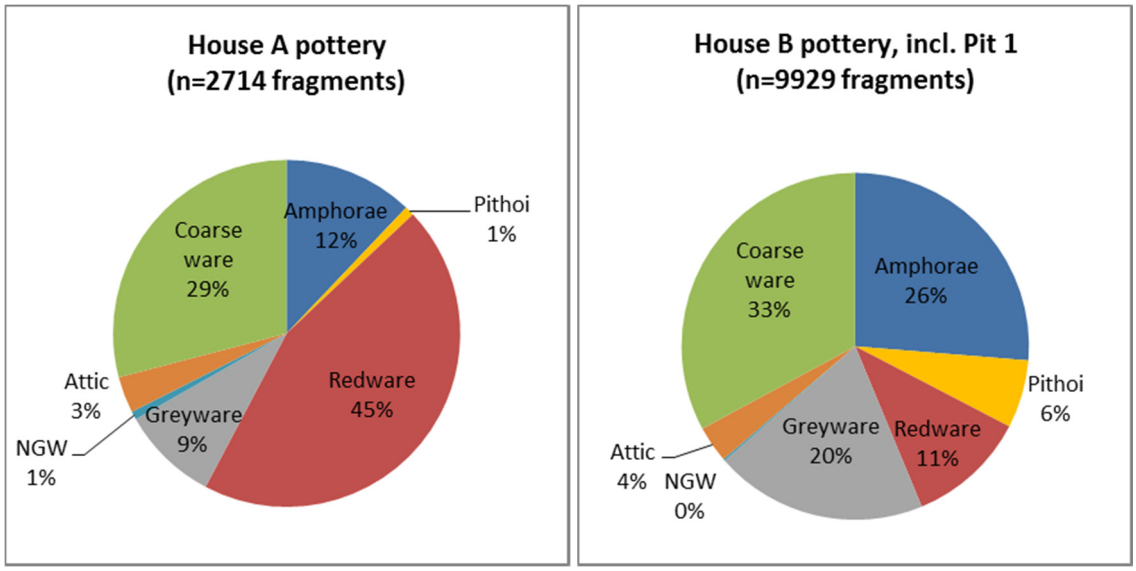


Figure 4.6. Ceramic wares used in Vetren households[50]

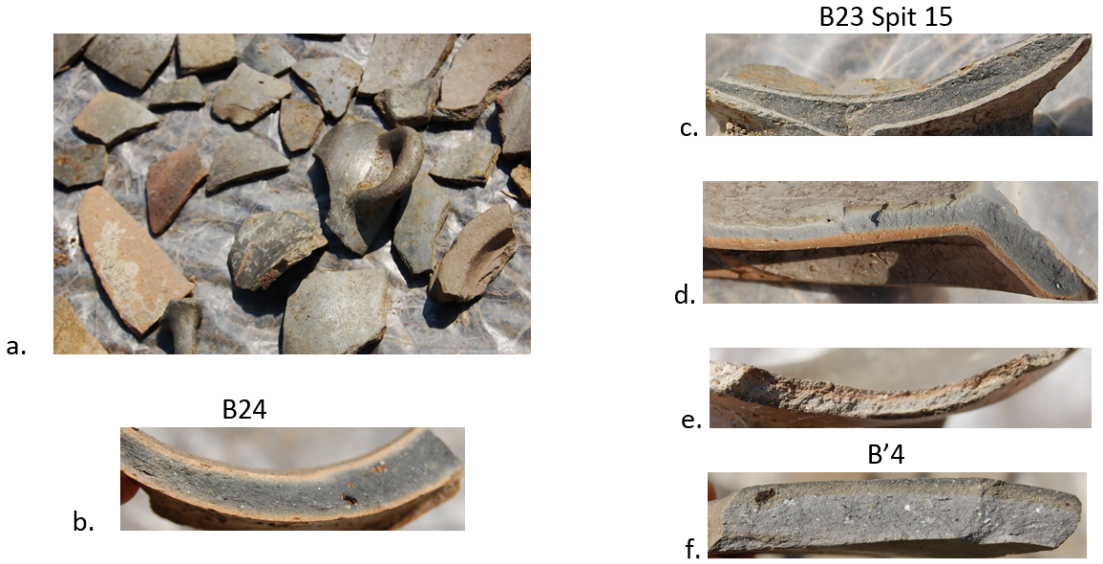


Figure 4.7. Greyware surface finishes, fabric and firing variability (photographed with permission by A. Gotzev)

[50] We have nothing close to estimated vessel equivalents for the site, but data from the two 4th-century houses near the city give some idea of the relative frequency for each ceramic ware. The figures here are based on summing up the sherd counts of over 12000 fragments from the two houses (Bouzek & Musil 2002). Unfortunately the two houses were poorly preserved: from House A we only have an exterior hearth and an interior floor surface delineated by a ditch; House B apparently collapsed into its basement following a fire. The ample space in the basement of House B might explain the elevated percentage of storage vessels, 32% for amphorae and *pithoi* combined. The manner of excavation and publication however inhibits detailed contextual analysis of the assemblages here and across most of the site (i.e. we do not know how vessels relate to individual spaces).

5.3. Textiles

Textiles seldom survive in Thrace, so the archaeological vestiges of textile production at Vetren are loom-weights and spindle-whorls. We can analyse them in two fruitful ways. First, the shapes of the loom-weights are often tied to the local tradition of where weavers come from (Cutler 2012), hence analysing the typological variability of loom-weights can illuminate the origins of textile technology at a given site and the migrant people who brought it.

Second, we can deduce the productive possibilities of Vetren, following the quantitative method, developed by Mårtensson *et al.* (2009). Working from the functional characteristics of the loom-weights, i.e. weight and thickness, we can deduce whether a loom-weight was suited for weaving with fine or thick, dense or open fabrics. For example, thick, heavy weights place a lot tension on each thread, and generally serve to make coarse or open fabrics of thick yarn, while light thin loom-weights call for fine yarn, and allow weavers to make fine dense fabrics. From this we can infer whether a city was producing coarser or finer fabrics (finer cloth involves more time and skilled labour), to what extent its textile production was intensive and diversified. Ideally we would also explore production areas and chronological changes, but the data resolution is currently too low and many loom-weights in Vetren come from secondary deposits (Grzybalska 2010).

Data

The Septemvri Museum inventory books list 859 loom-weights, excavated by May 2014. I appended the published data for 296 loom-weights and 61 spindle-whorls (Bouzek 1996b; Archibald 2009, 2013a; Matys 2013) with weight measurements for the artefacts from Bouzek's paper. Then, I analysed these data following Mårtensson *et al.*'s (2009) method. I also compiled comparative data from contemporary sites in the region (see Figure 4.13, Appendix 7). The graphs below summarise the results.

Loom-weights at Vetren come in six basic shapes (Figure 4.8).[51] Pyramidal and pear-shaped weights are most common, around 40% each, followed by lenticular, trapezoidal, and conical (Figure 4.9). The loom-weights are between 31 and 420 g, the majority coming

[51] The published typologies are far more detailed, but inconsistent (cf. Bouzek 1996; Matys 2013). Hence, I re-classified the loom-weights in a simplified scheme.

in at 40–140 g (Figure 4.11). This weight-range makes them suitable for weaving with a thread tension of 5–10 g, and no more than 20 g per thread in optimal conditions (see Appendix 7, Table 25). Loom-weight thickness varies between 16 and 63 mm, which makes for relatively dense fabrics. The spindle-whorls are suited for making the corresponding thread thickness (Figure 4.12).[52]

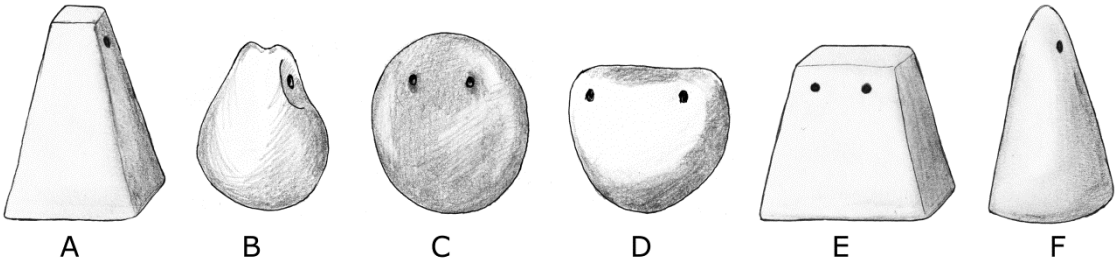


Figure 4.8. Loom-weight types

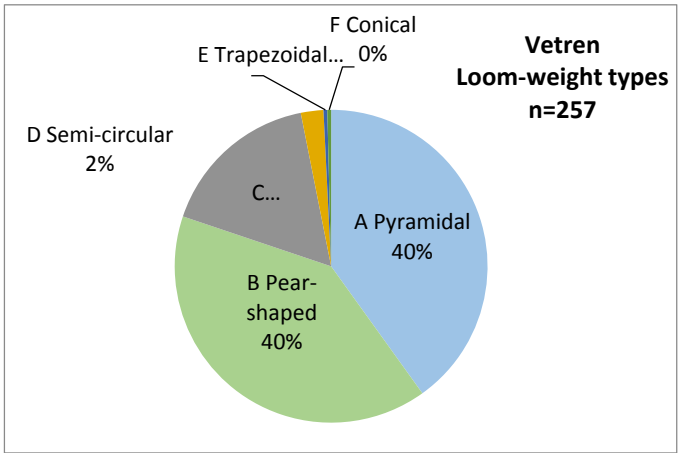


Figure 4.9. Loom-weight shapes distribution (data from Archibald 2009; Bouzek 1996b; Matys 2013)

[52] One miniature 8 g weight (Septemvri No. 1.209) was probably not a functional object, and one would expect that there are also unpublished heavier weights.

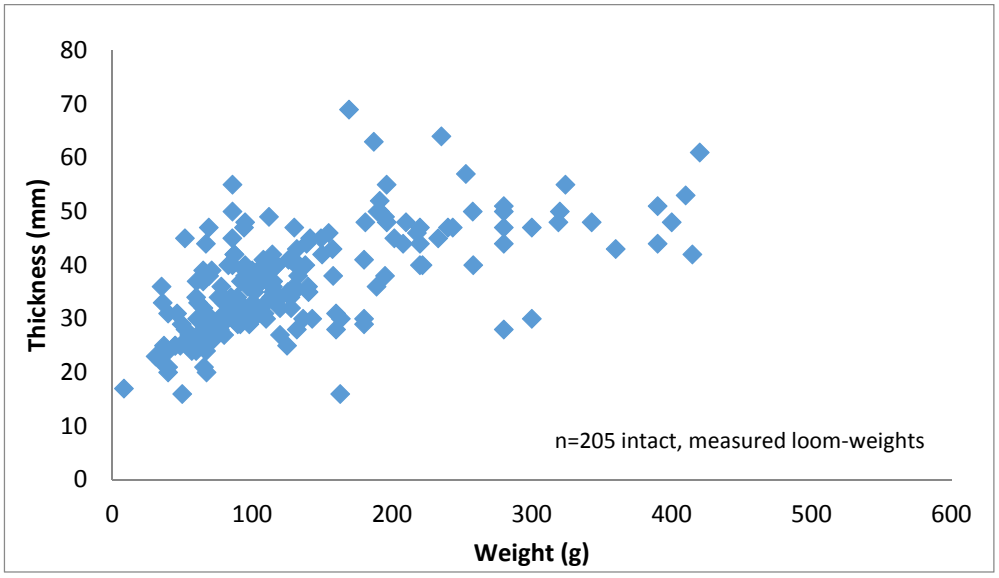


Figure 4.10. Loom-weights weight and thickness (Data from Archibald 2009; Matys 2013; author's work)

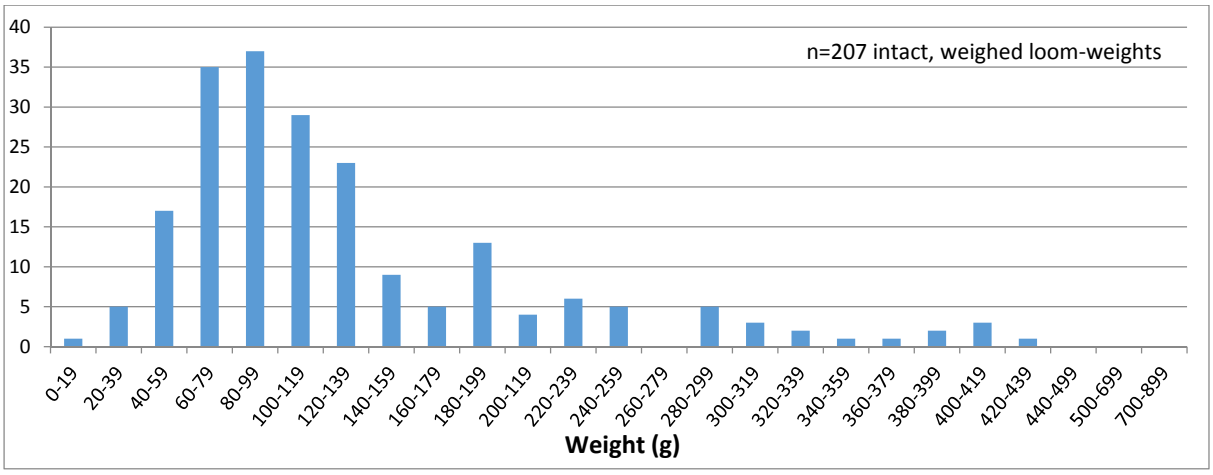


Figure 4.11. Loom-weights in 20g groups (Data from Archibald 2009; Matys 2013; author's work)

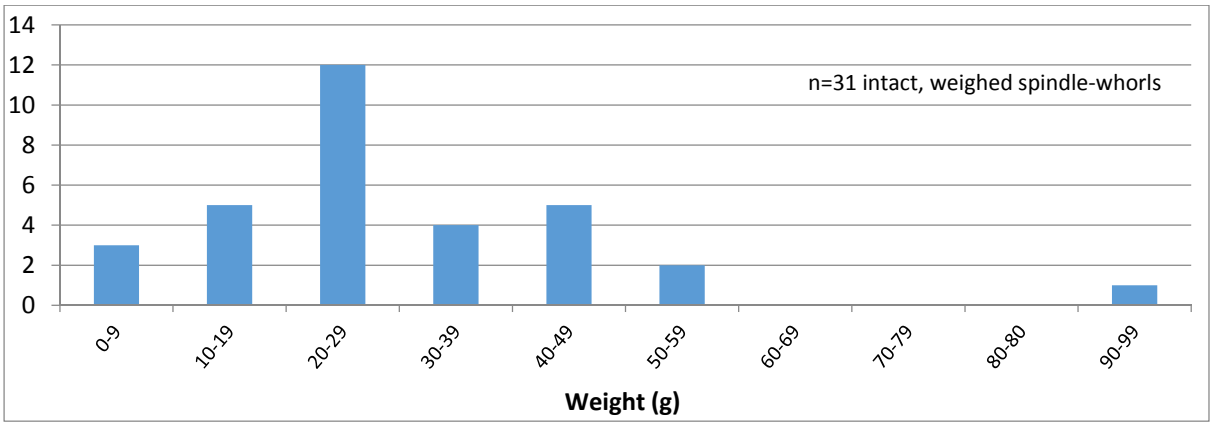


Figure 4.12. Spindle-whorls in 10g groups (Data from Archibald 2009; Matys 2013; author's work)

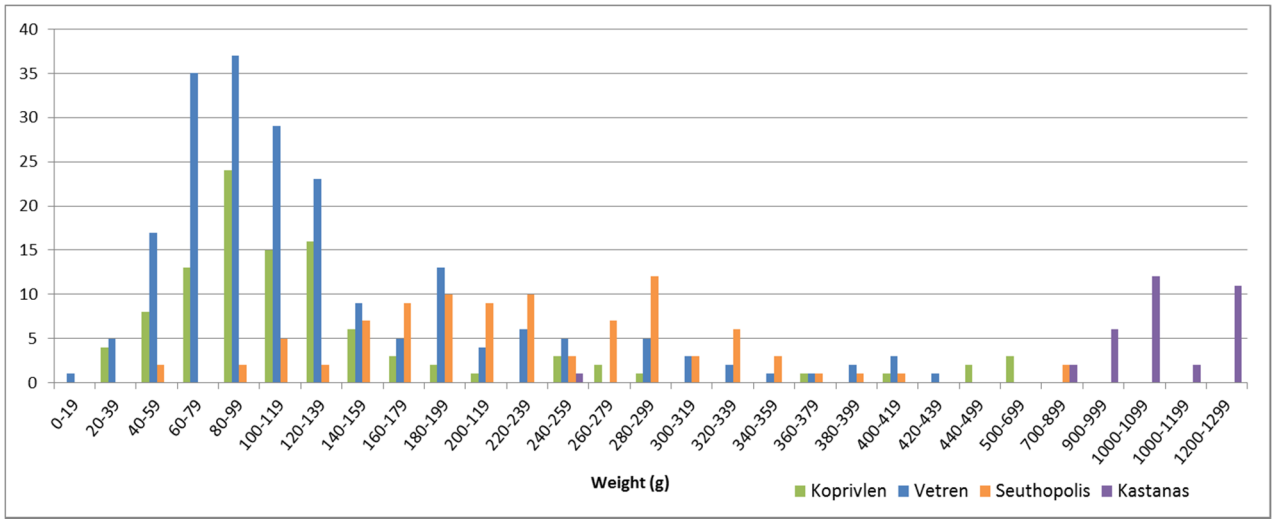


Figure 4.13. Loom-weights from Vetren compared to other sites

Discussion

Vetren has perhaps the largest textile tools collection in Iron Age Thrace (see Appendix 7, Table 26), which is particularly impressive considering the limited excavation area, 0.56 ha. This suggests Vetren housed an intensive textile industry.

The wide range in weight and thickness of the loom-weights, apparent on Figure 4.11 indicates that Vetren could produce a wide range of fabrics, from thin to coarse. The majority of loom-weights were thin and light – well suited for weaving fabric with high warp thread counts. Weaving fine fabric was more labour-intensive (per square metre) and required greater time investment (and skill?). We can therefore extrapolate that it required greater time investment and skill, i.e., some degree of specialisation.

Part of this cloth probably was a surplus/'luxury' product, and an important economic resource. All this is not surprising, given the frequent link between intensive production and consumption of textiles and urbanism. Across a series of historical cases, textile production intensified in response to increasing demand for clothes used to perform social identities in increasingly elaborate material codes integral to urban lifestyle (Gleba *et al.* 2013). The textile production evidence from Vetren comfortably fits in this pattern as an early urban economy. Clearly, economic and social life in Vetren was organised so that it demanded, produced, and consumed a variety of textiles.

Compared to other sites, Vetren's loom-weights are very typologically diverse (see Appendix 7, Table 26), suggesting that the weavers at Vetren came from different regions and brought their diverse weaving traditions. Pyramidal weights cannot indicate the origin

of weavers, because they are ubiquitous across Thrace and the Aegean. But pear-shaped loom-weights were widely used only in the central Balkans. They constitute 48% of the loom-weights at Krševica, 49% at Koprivlen, 40% at Vetren, and the majority of weights at Pernik, and they occur only occasionally in the Aegean (see Appendix 7, Table 26). Many weavers at Vetren probably belonged to this central Balkan tradition. Intriguingly, the pear-shaped weights are best suited for weaving cloth with high warp thread-counts. Consequently, the technological tradition of weaving fine dense cloth with pear-shaped weights spread from this core area to other settlements. This undercuts the received wisdom that technologies moved from the 'Greek' Aegean into neighbouring regions on the Balkans.

5.4. Summary

The foregoing survey of craft production at Vetren reveals a vibrant urban economy producing, consuming, and perhaps, exporting a series of goods. Together with the discussion of architecture, this section shows that different practices of building, metalworking, weaving, potting, and cooking co-existed at Vetren. Some of these technological traditions and their tools can be traced to parts of the Aegean, and others – to the Balkans. While previous studies have interpreted this diversity as evidence for colonial settlement, I propose that Vetren, strategically located at a crossroads, drew its population and the technologies at the root of its economy from different regions. Cities by definition are mixed places where people from different parts come together and re-form new kinds of communities. Therefore the productive direction for understanding Vetren is to shift away from 'Greek colonialism' and towards 'Thracian' urbanism.

The data from Vetren add to the observations on Krastevich and Levski made in Chapter II: urban or proto-urban communities in LIA Thrace drew substantively on technologies imported from Greece and developed locally (e.g., roof-tiles, the potter's wheel, new loom-weight types). Cities like Vetren were crucial zones of interaction and technological synergy, where people converged from different parts of the Aegean and the Balkans, forming new kinds of communities. In such communities new lines of identity and difference were drawn between different craft specialists, between town- and country-dwellers, etc. Vetren also highlights the role of emergent urban communities as consumers of craft products and a key motor for technological transfer, innovation, and craft

specialisation. One new practice, instrumental in the re-shaping of existing social relations and well-attested in Vetren, was the introduction of coinage, which I consider next.

6. Trade and Imports

The coins, amphorae, and imported pottery from Vetren have been at the heart of debates for and against the *emporion* Pistiros interpretation. As I explained above however (p. 206ff.), both sides of the debate have based their arguments on problematic comparanda and misleading assumptions that Greek pots and coins demonstrate the presence or absence of Greeks, Vetren's *emporion* status, and its trade with Thasos. Entrenched in these debates, few scholars have examined how coins, amphorae, and imported pots facilitated certain social relations and what they did for the people who used them. This section will consider why coinage – an imported technology – was adopted and used, how and why pots and amphorae were used to satisfy particular consumption demands.

6.1. Coins

Previous discussion on the coins relied on unverified estimates for the size of the assemblage. Seeking to move the debate forward, I produced updated statistics on the coins using the Septemvri Archaeological Museum inventory books. These records contain a description of every coin found on site. Although the identifications are preliminary and a third of the coins are unidentified, the descriptions were entered by site numismatist Valentina Taneva,[53] and the dataset of over 1000 coins is sufficiently large to show robust and salient broad trends. This is the largest and best-documented urban coin assemblage from pre-Roman Thrace.

Data

The pre-Roman coins excavated by May 2014 are 1058. Table 7 summarises the details. This number excludes the hoard of 552 mostly Macedonian coins buried before the destruction of the town c. 280 BC (Bouzek & Musil 2001, 2007, 64–5; Русева 2010; Russeva 2011), because the hoard reflects a different deposition practice than coin loss.

[53] My thanks to Valentina Taneva, who kindly granted permission to use the archive data for my thesis and verified some identifications.

Table 7. Coins from Vetren (numbers in brackets mark uncertain identification)

Issuing authority	Bronze	Silver	Fourrée	n/a	Sum	% within category	% of total
Thracian rulers	160	13	2	1	176		17%
Amatokos I	37	4			41	23%	4%
Kotys I	62	5			67	38%	6%
Teres II	17				17	10%	2%
Amatokos II	17				17	10%	2%
Kersebleptes	1				1	1%	0.1%
Seuthes II	2				2	1%	0.2%
Seuthes III	6				6	3%	0.6%
Satyr and Nymph type – imitation	6	4	2		12	7%	1.1%
Thracian (unidentified ruler)	12			1	13	7%	1.2%
Cities	51	56	8	1	116		11%
Abdera	1				1	1%	0.1%
Ainos		4			4	3%	0.4%
Apollonia Pontica	2				2	2%	0.2%
Arrow-coin (Apollonia?)	2				2	2%	0.2%
Byzantion	(2)				2	2%	0.2%
Damastion	1	2	1		4	3%	0.4%
Euboia		2			2	2%	0.2%
Kardia	3(1)				4	3%	0.4%
Kyzikos	(1)				1	1%	0.1%
Kypsele	2(2)				4	3%	0.4%
Maroneia	10(5)				15	13%	1.4%
Mesambria	1	2			3	3%	0.3%
Neapolis	1	1			2	2%	0.2%
Parion	(1)	6			7	6%	0.7%
Prokonessos	1(1)				2	2%	0.2%
Satyr and Nymph type	1	3			4	3%	0.4%
Sermyle	1				1	1%	0.1%
Thasos		9		1	10	9%	0.9%
Thracian Chersonesos	12	27	7		46	40%	4%
Macedonian rulers	407	13	1		421		40%
Philip II	139	7			146	35%	14%
Alexander III	119	4	1		124	30%	12%
Alexander IV	1				1	0%	0.1%
Kassandros	2				2	0%	0.2%
Seleukos	3				3	1%	0.3%
Lysimachos	42	1			43	10%	4.1%
Macedonian other/unidentified	101				102	24%	105
Unidentified	333	9	2	1	345		33%
Total	951	91	13	3	1058		

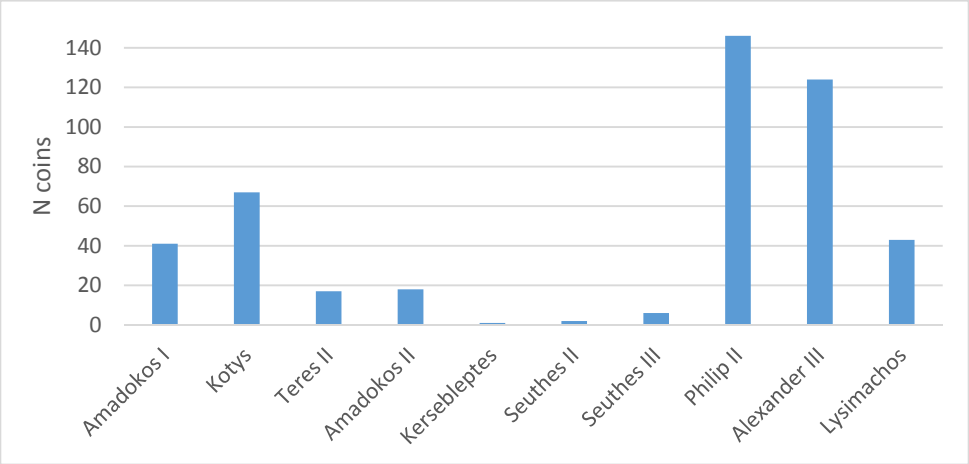


Figure 4.14. Coins of Thracian and Macedonian rulers

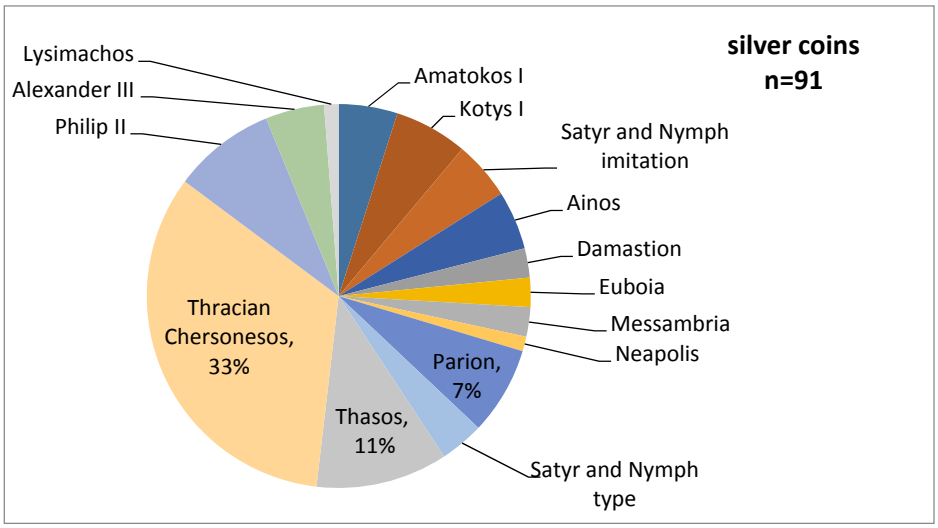


Figure 4.15. Silver coins

The earliest coins from Vetren, one Neapolitan 6th-century specimen and two arrow-coins, considerably pre-date other finds. Next come the Thasian *hemihektae* minted c. 410–400 BC (Taneva 2000, 49, 51 fig. 3.3; Юрукова & Домарадски 1990, 9). Otherwise, bronze coins of Thracian rulers dominate the assemblage up to the mid-4th century. 36 coins from different Greek cities could also be provisionally dated before 350 BC: Thasos, Prokonesos, Neapolis, Kyzikos, Kardia, Euboia, Byzantion (Taneva pers. comm.). Between 350–280 BC, Vetren was flooded with Macedonian bronze coins which represent 40% of all discovered coins. Most Greek coins also date to the second half of the 4th century, the Thracian Chersonese being most common with 12 bronze and 27 silver coins, followed by Maroneia (15 bronzes) and a series of other towns such as Thasos, Parion, and Ainos represented with a few silver coins each.

Discussion

As I noted in the methodological discussion (p. 82) bronze and silver coins bring different information: silver coinage is a technology for facilitating large payments and storing wealth. Because silver has high intrinsic value as metal, it circulated widely and the presence of silver coins indicates the participation of a site in wider networks of monetised exchange without implying direct connections between the mint and the findspot. By contrast, bronze coins are fiduciary money: their face value, guaranteed by the issuing authority, greatly exceeds their intrinsic value. They represent small change designed for use in daily transactions. Hence, silver coins show indirect participation in a shared exchange network, while bronze coins elucidate the intensity of daily transactions and map the economic and political influence of the issuing authority. Finally, we can understand the coins from Vetren better if we compare them against contemporary urban assemblages and the coins in circulation during the same timeframe.

The 91 silver coins at Vetren comprise 8% of the assemblage. Their small share is unsurprising given their high value: silver is rarely something one casually handles or loses between the cobbles on the street. They come from a variety of mints: the Thracian Chersonese (27 coins), followed by Thasos (11), Parion (6), and others. These figures fit well with the regional patterns of silver circulation, elicited from contemporary hoards along the Hebros valley, discussed in Chapter II (cf. Appendix 3). The interpretation, which I proposed with reference to the hoards applies also to the silver coins from Vetren: the assemblage is mixed because in the Thracian milieu, the coinage of many north Aegean *apoikiai* (Thasos, Maroneia, Parion, Thracian Chersonese) served as regional currency and a means of storing wealth (Figueira 1998, 28).[54] In this connection, the coins do not corroborate the proposed strong trading relations between Thasos and Vetren, much less a colonial link.

I also posited that Thracian elites cashed their silver at north Aegean mints, and then used these coins as well-established currency. The 9 silver coins of Kotys and Amatokos

[54] I follow the inventory books, which distinguish between 'Thracian imitations' and 'original' Satyr and Nymph coins, attributed to Thasos, although the provenance of these coins is debateable (see Chapter II).

complement the evidence that Odrysian rulers also minted some silver coins, but very few survive suggesting a limited volume (see Peter 1997).

90% of the coins from Vetren are bronzes. This figure alone shows that the bulk of the money lost in the town was small change, used for small daily transactions. A comparison to other towns is instructive, and Hellenistic Seuthopolis is the most suitable example.[55] Excavations at Seuthopolis uncovered 1305 pre-Roman coins. Of them, 849 were allegedly minted in the city by Seuthes III, 400 were minted elsewhere, and 56 were unidentifiable (Димитров 1984b, 7, 41). Figure 4.16 juxtaposes the assemblages.

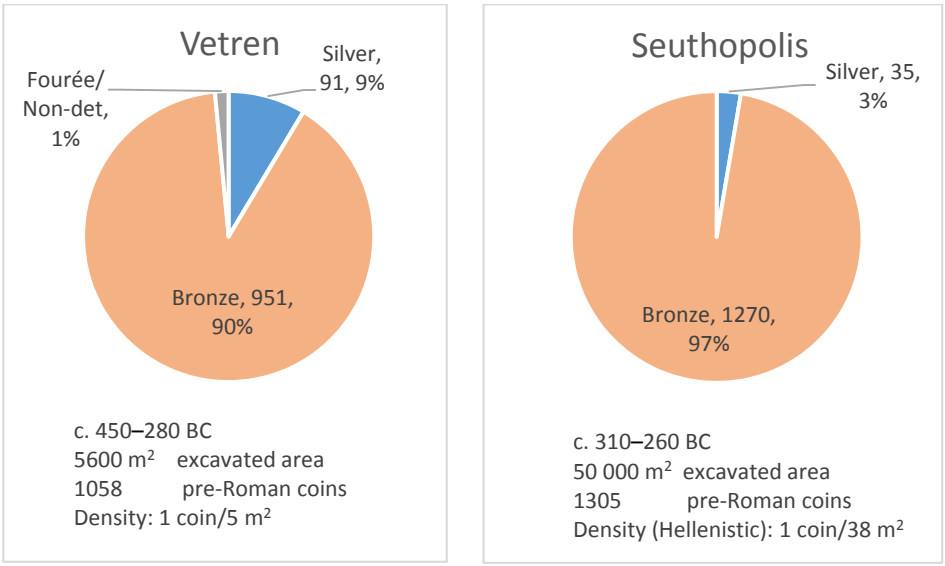


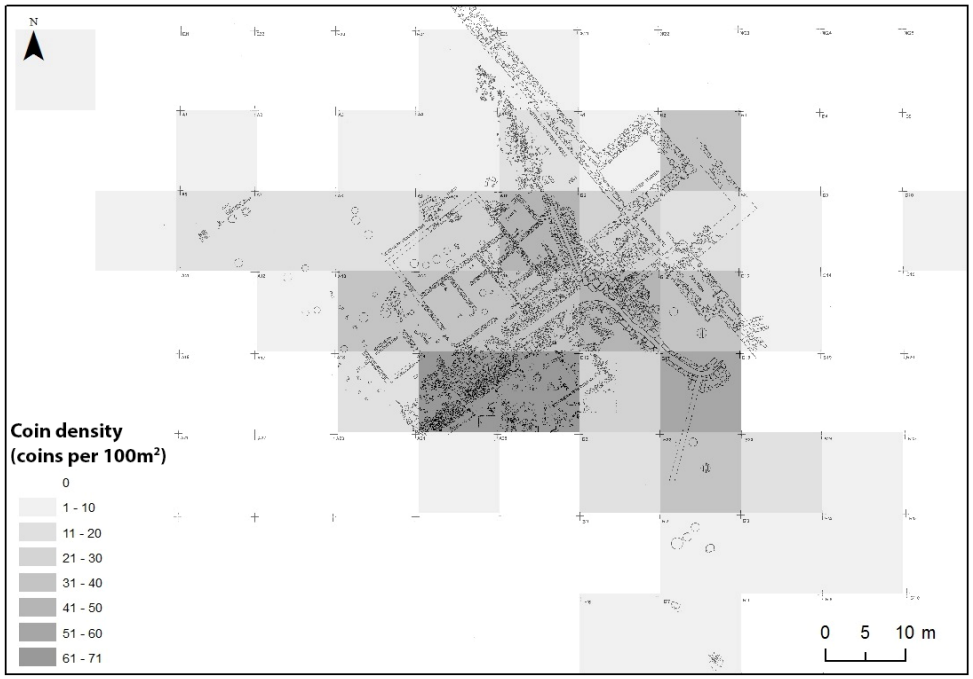
Figure 4.16. Coin assemblages at Vetren and Seuthopolis

Seuthopolis and Vetren have similar ratios of bronze to silver coins. This implies that small monetised transactions were part of urban life in these early Hellenistic cities. We find further similarities in the spatial distribution of coins (Figure 4.17). Most coins at Seuthopolis cluster around the 'agora' and along the streets. In Vetren, the main coin concentration is in the street and buildings by the East Gate, suggesting this was an area of

[55] The pre-Hellenistic assemblage from Vetren lacks suitable comparative datasets, because our knowledge of Thracian settlements is limited (see Chapter II). Pre-Macedonian settlements like Vasil Levski, and Krastevich were abandoned before the adoption of bronze coinage. Rescue trenches at Koprivlen have yielded only a few coins. The Hellenistic material from Kabyle (Драганов & Попов 1982; Драганов 1982a, 1982b, 1993) is unsuitable for comparison, because the catalogue includes coins found beyond the city, thus skewing the chronology and statistics (Tzochev 2009, 68).

intensive monetary exchange. Smaller coin scatters lie outside the city gates of both Vetren and Seuthopolis (the south-west gate). These might reflect the locations of market stalls or checkpoints for paying duties upon entering the city.

a.



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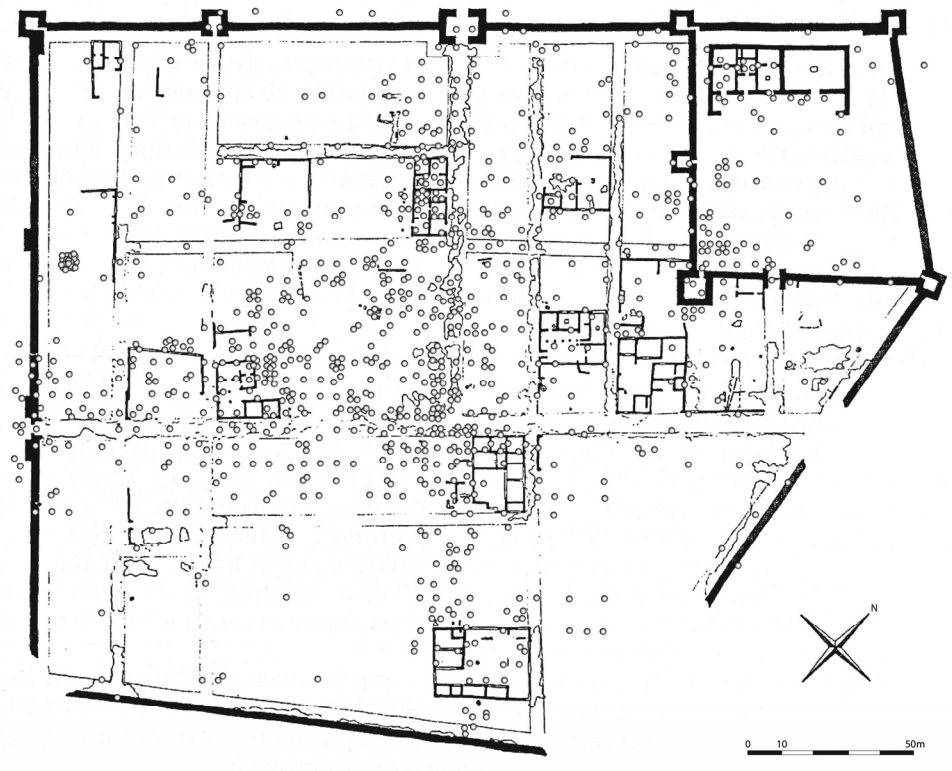


Figure 4.17. Coin density at Vetren (author's work) and Seuthopolis (Tzochev 2015a, 416 fig. 27.1)

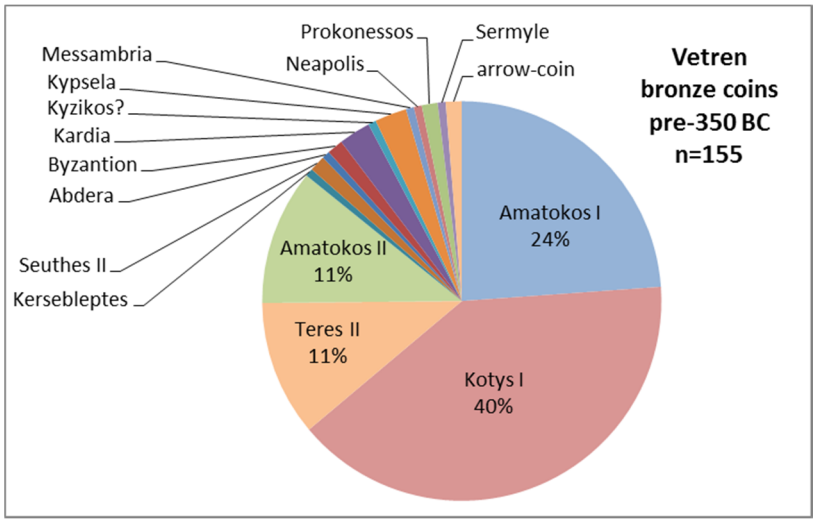


Figure 4.18. Pre-Macedonian bronze coins at Vetren

Although overall coin density at Vetren appears to be many times higher than at Seuthopolis, this contrast might be misleading. Chronology, sampling, and data recovery methods such as systematic sieving and using metal-detectors at Vetren affect coin recovery dramatically.

One intriguing contrast between the two assemblages is that at Seuthopolis 65% (849) of the bronze coins are issues of Seuthes III, while the bronzes at Vetren were minted by a range of local rulers and Greek cities (Figure 4.18). Some of this variety comprises bronzes from Greek cities in small numbers (2–4 coins). These might result from the presence of mobile people who used them elsewhere but lost them here (e.g. like someone losing British pennies in Europe). The other reason for variety is the longevity of Vetren which saw a succession of rulers striking coins.

The bronze coins of the Odrysian dynasty clearly dominate Vetren's pre-Macedonian assemblage, featuring Amatokos I, Kotys, Amatokos II, and Teres II (see timeline in Figure 2.2 and good-quality illustrations in Martinez *et al.* 2015 Nos. 124–47). Given that the value of bronze coins derives from the power of the issuing authority, these coins firmly place Vetren under Odrysian economic and political influence.

Moreover, the high ratios of Odrysian coins suggest they were minted in Vetren. I already noted the bronze-working evidence on site. Further weight for this is added by three disks – unstruck coin blanks similar in size and weight to the coins of Amatokos (Septemvri Nos. 1.566, 2.471, and one un-inventoried find from 2014, Taneva pers. comm.). Such coin blanks appear in archaeologically investigated mints (Howgego 1995, 26–8 with

references). Although for now the identification of an Odrysian mint at Vetren rests on preliminary and unpublished data, it is corroborated by independent lines of evidence.

The foundation of an Odrysian mint at Vetren would have required foreign technological know-how and equipment. The dies and/or the die-engravers at Vetren most probably came from Maroneia: the coins of several Odrysian rulers – Saratokos, Amatokos I, II, and Teres III – had the same reverses as Maroneian coins (Schönert-Geiss 1987, 7, 32, 51–2). Hence Vetren sheds light on the long-standing proposition that Odrysian kings employed Maroneian die-engravers (West 1929, 120ff.; Youroukova 1976, 8ff.), and adds an eloquent example of technological transfer in the context of Thracian-Greek interactions.

Thrace, intriguingly, was among the earliest adopters of fiduciary coinage in the late 5th century, contemporaneously with Macedonia and before many Aegean cities. To explain this pattern, we need to appreciate that the adoption of fiduciary money is closely linked the scale of exchange – because bronzes serve mainly for daily transactions, and the power structures – because the value of bronze coins is guaranteed by the issuing authority. Odrysian and Macedonian rulers were quick in introducing fiduciary money, because they had the monarchical authority to guarantee its value in the public's eye better than the political structures in many Greek cities. Hence, the adoption of bronze coinage involved imported technology and internal political capacity.

According to one oft-cited explanation, fiduciary money was introduced to Thrace for the purpose of military finance (Psôma 2011, 150). Paying soldiers with token money, however, necessitates that this money was also accepted at the market (Tzochev 2015a, 420).

The numismatic evidence from Vetren further elicits how bronze coinage functioned in Thrace, facilitating exchange at an urban market. The adoption of bronze coins indicates that in cities like Vetren there already existed a range of transactions (commercial or tax-related) that could be made easier by the introduction of token money. Odrysian bronze coins for internal use complemented the silver coins of regional mints like Thasos, Parion, and the Thracian Chersonese and silver vessels, discussed in Chapter II, making up a full system for facilitating transactions and exchange.

The foregoing analysis departs from traditional interpretations of the coins from Vetren as evidence that the site was a Thasian *emporion*. Having brought the numismatic data up to date, it becomes evident that Thasian coins are a fraction of the total, alongside other silver

regional currencies. More importantly, the coin-loss data cannot demonstrate nor refute that Vetren was a regional trans-shipment hub because they represent small change for daily spending lost between the cobbles. Large-scale transactions were mediated through silver and barter. They might have happened in Vetren, but they would not leave a numismatic footprint on the city streets.

Placed in comparative context, Vetren is not exceptional − as the proponents of the *emporion* hypothesis maintain − but fits in the general trends of monetary circulation in Thrace observed through coin hoards: an eclectic mix of silver coins operating as regional currency for large transactions, and an escalation of monetary circulation after 350 BC. Crucially, Vetren complements the hoards data by showing a market town in which many daily transactions were monetised from early on with bronze coins. The abundant Odrysian bronze coins in the pre-Macedonian assemblage indicate that the political and economic authority of Odrysian rulers was recognised here, and we have indications that Odrysian coins were minted here – although this does not necessarily entail that Vetren was under Odrysian political control.

The numismatic assemblage from Vetren elicits how fiduciary coinage was introduced as an imported technology, embedded in the daily lives and economic relations of the inhabitants of this city from the early 4th century. Undercutting the received wisdom that coinage was a 'Greek' influence on Thrace, the evidence here demonstrates that technological innovations were adopted according to local interests, technological and political possibilities. Having examined the technology of exchange, I will now turn to the products of exchange, and in particular, imported bulk goods and pottery.

6.2. Amphorae

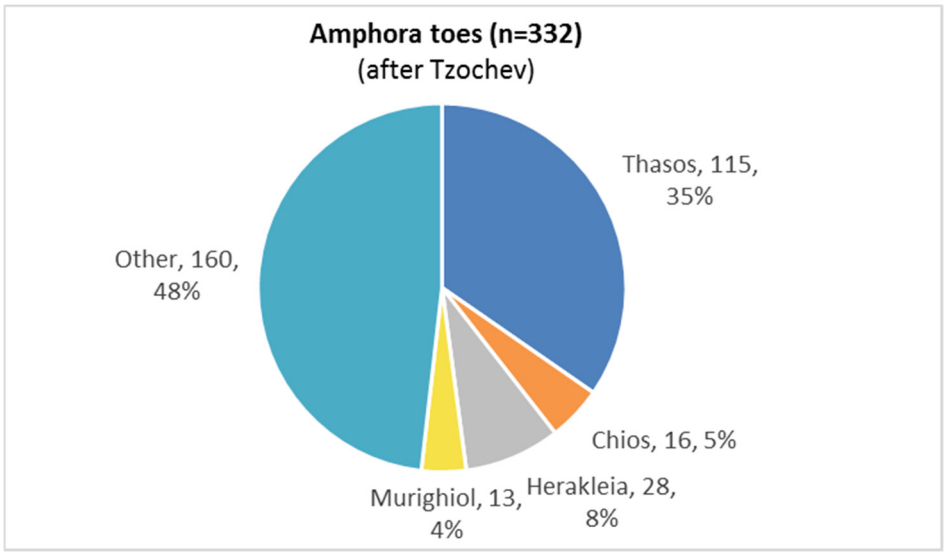
Transport amphorae, as noted earlier, convey the directionality and intensity of ancient trade, particularly with wine and foodstuffs. Like with other categories of evidence, I will analyse how the amphorae at Vetren were imported and why, considering the relations between Vetren and Greek amphora producers from the perspective of consumption.

Data

It is surprisingly difficult to consolidate basic amphora statistics for Vetren across publications (Tsetskhladze 2011). Chavdar Tzochev (2007, 187) gives the most reliable minimum number of vessels: 332 amphora toes excavated by 2004 (Figure 4.19a). Tušlová

et al. (2010) produced a more recent summary of stamps (77), toes (245), and rims (537) (Figure 4.19b), but their categorisation is too detailed to be accurate. For example, the high count for Ainos and Peparethos are probably misleading: Ainian amphorae have only recently been identified, and Tušlová *et al*. do not cite the relevant publication (Karadima 2004); Peparethan jars are rare in Thrace (Tzochev pers. comm.). In the absence of a catalogue or concordances, the categorisation cannot be scrutinised. Dates are only available for the stamped fragments, and even then, the data are contradictory (cf. dates and numbers in Titz 2002 and Bouzek *et al.* 2007). Despite their issues, these data give a sense of the provenance and quantity of import.

a.



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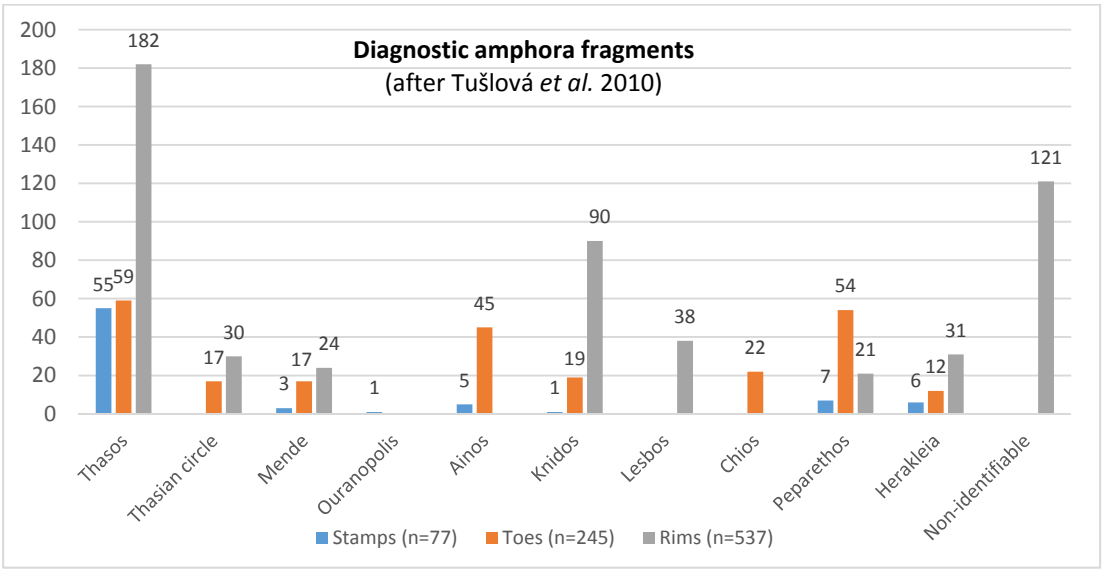

Figure 4.19. Amphorae at Vetren

Discussion

Both Tušlová *et al.*'s and Tzochev's data show that Vetren received amphorae from a range of producers: mostly north Aegean (Chalkidiki, Thasos and its surroundings, Ainos), followed by east Aegean containers (from Chios, Knidos, Lesbos), and the Black Sea (Herakleia Pontica and Murighiol type).

Although existing interpretations maintain that amphorae were shipped here by river and Vetren had a harbour (e.g., Bouzek 1996c), this does not apply to the Pontic amphorae. As discussed in Chapter II, Pontic jars entered Thrace via Black Sea harbours like Apollonia and Debelt. From there, they could only reach Vetren through a 300 km passage overland, since there are no river links. Undercutting the assumption that bulk goods were transported by river, the presence of Black Sea amphorae at Vetren in quantity (12% in Tzochev's sample) shows that it was not uncommon for bulk goods to travel long distances overland. This observation is strengthened by the wider distribution of Herakleian amphorae in Thrace (Figure 3.19) At least 200 amphorae even reached Seuthopolis (Tzochev in press), a town deep in the continent, on River Tonzos, which was certainly not navigable. Considering these data and the limited carrying capacity of River Hebros (p. 208ff. above), it seems likely that many Aegean amphorae also travelled overland. Hence hundreds (even thousands?) of amphorae were brought deep into Thrace despite the limited riverine transport.[56] This circulation of bulk goods into the continent highlights to the role of indigenous networks and traders in the distribution chain.

The existence of these distribution chains in turn begs explanation. Towns like Vetren and Seuthopolis clearly generated sufficient demand for the contents of the amphorae, so that trade profits justified the effort, risk, and cost of overland transport. Even if some jars were refilled before reaching the site, Vetren consumed imported foodstuffs and wine in quantity. We know little about the foodstuffs, but the provenance statistics highlight many important wine-producing centres. Hence, the inhabitants of Vetren drank a variety of

[56] The predominance of overland transport explains the contrast between amphora quantities at Vetren and the Skythian river-harbours evoked by Tsetskhladze (2000, 233–9, 2011, 19; see p. 14ff. above). Kabyle similarly produced many more stamps, 500 (Tzochev 2009, 68) vs. Vetren's 77, because Kabyle had riverine transport, but mostly because it existed through the Hellenistic period when stamping was much more common.

highly praised wines, including Mendean, which in the words of a contemporary Athenian was "what the gods piss in their soft beds", "Thasian over which the scent of apples plays … the best of all the other wines after fine and unhurtful Chian" (Hermippus fr.77/88 [Epitome 29e]). Tastes in Athens were not necessarily the same as in Vetren, but as the amphorae testify, the pleasures of wine were appreciated in both places.

We can gain better understanding of wine consumption, the key driver of the exchange networks discussed here through ethnographic comparison with wine trade and consumption in contemporary China. Both modern China and ancient Thrace saw a dramatic shift and increase of wine-consumption. Wine was probably introduced in Thrace by Greek settlers, and quickly became popular in the LIA. Similarly, wine consumption in China had been traditionally negligible (Rozelle *et al.* 2005), until demand for wine started to grow exponentially, increasing by 25% every year between 2003–2013 (Agence France Press 2014). Domestic production and import increased several-fold during this period in order to meet demand. One factor driving voracious demand for wine is China's opening to global business and the corresponding economic boom since the early 2000s. In this context, imported wine was desirable because it brings together a global language of status distinction with traditional Chinese practices of entertaining and gift-giving around festivals, particularly of luxury gifts (China Briefing Media 2007, 153). Another factor driving wine consumption is the growing affluence of the urban middle class. Indeed, the context of wine expanded from the realm of luxury gifts for business and political elites, to a commodity that is consumed more widely among the urban middle class (Stone 2015).

The scale and tempo of the Chinese wine market is incomparable to ancient examples, but its basic dynamic can help to understand what was happening in ancient Thrace. The Chinese example illuminates the links between several concomitant factors which we also observe in 5th–4th century Thrace: widening economic and political horizons, intensifying exchange and increasing demand for new products, particularly wine, and the rise of urban communities like Vetren.

6.3. Attic pottery

Attic pottery[57] brings another strand to our understanding of exchange and consumption at Vetren. The published material allows us to address several questions formulated in Chapter I: the scale of import (sporadic/large-scale trade), the range of shapes (which conveys the adoption of certain practices), and the context of use. The urban assemblage from Vetren also complements the regional data on Attic imports, discussed in Chapter II.

Data

Attic pottery from Vetren appears in several publications: Archibald (1996, 2002b) presented the best-preserved examples up to 1997; she also compared selected contexts in trench B21 and D24 to sites outside Thrace (Archibald 2013b, 144–7); Bouzek and Musil published diagnostic fragments from Houses A and B (Bouzek & Musil 2003b).

The data summarised in the charts below and in Appendix 2 rely chiefly on Archibald's (1996, 78) count of diagnostic fragments. Beyond the quantified shapes, there are "occasional white ground *lekythoi* … red figure squat *lekythoi*, *askoi*, lamps, toilet boxes, *oinochoai* and various minor closed forms" (Archibald 2013b, 147). In addition to the figured pottery, the black-glazed shapes include salt-cellars, numerous drinking cups, and one possible *guttus* (Bouzek & Musil 2003b, 71–2). The published contextual information is limited.

Our understanding of Vetren's assemblage is further challenged by the lack of comparable published settlement assemblages from Thrace. The only available dataset for Attic pottery circulation in Thrace is Maria Reho's 1990 catalogue, discussed in Chapter II (see Appendix 2). Comparison between these regional data and Vetren is complicated: while the numbers from Vetren represent diagnostic sherds from urban deposits, the regional data represent (mostly) complete vessels from the Pontic coast and (mostly) burials in inner Thrace. Nevertheless, juxtaposition is instructive, because Vetren provides the missing link between the Attic pottery available in coastal cities and the sub-selection of pots that went into Thracian graves. Given the complications, I will note only the most

[57] Almost all black-glazed and figured pottery from Vetren is classified as Attic because of its fabric and gloss.

salient patterns in the range of shapes, their proportions, and the consumption practices they reveal.

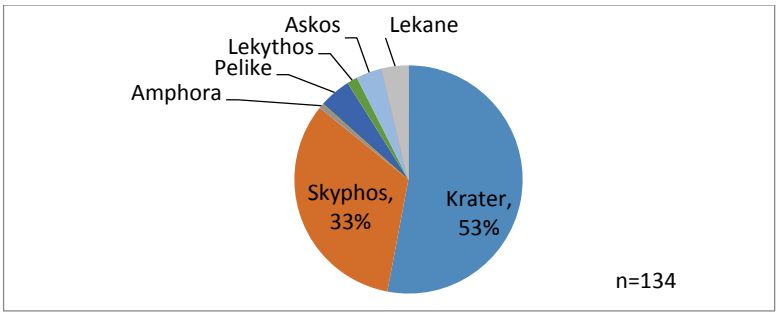

Figure 4.20. Proportions of Attic figured shapes at Vetren (data in Appendix 2)

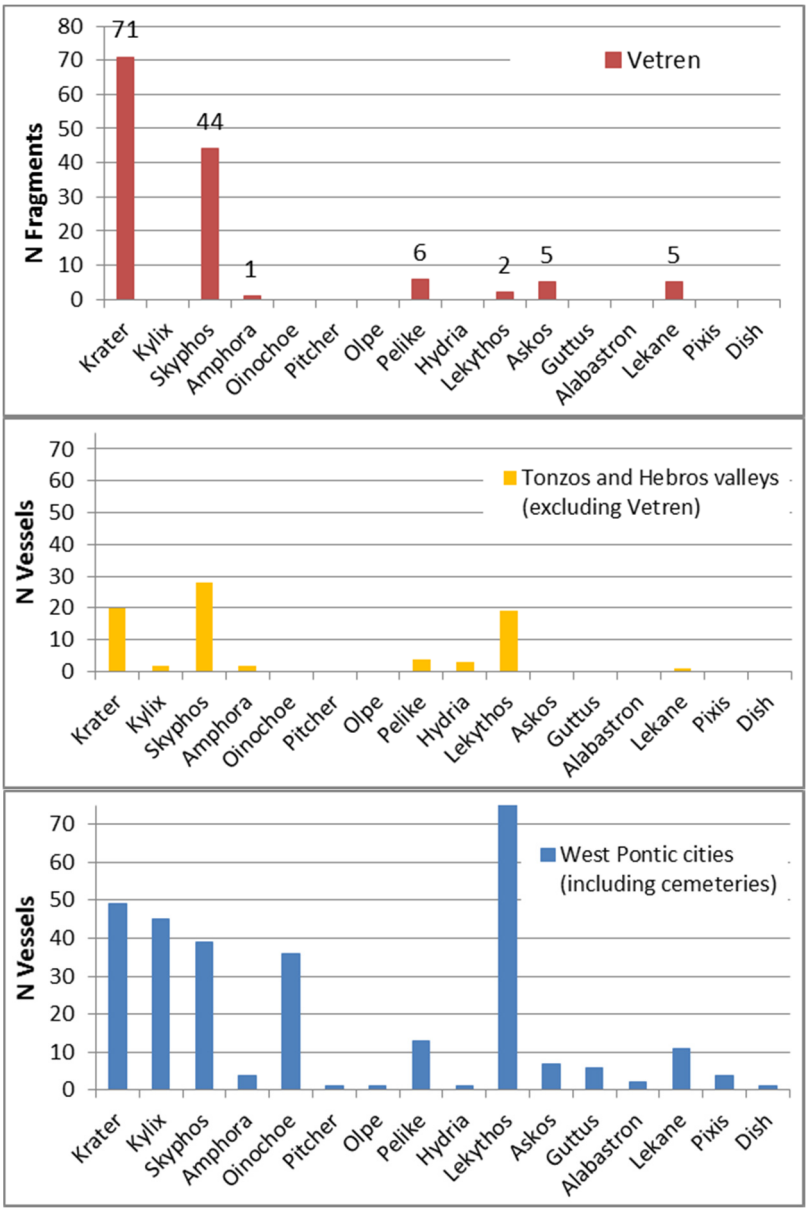

Figure 4.21. Figured Attic shapes at Vetren, compared to other sub-regions in Thrace (data in Appendix 2)

Discussion

The extant data from Vetren reveal a range of shapes that is limited compared to the full Attic repertoire and compared to Pontic cities, but wider than any other dataset we have for inner Thrace (see Figure 4.21, Appendix 2). The vast majority (86%) of figured Attic pots at Vetren were *kraters* and *skyphoi* (Figure 4.20). The high proportion of *kraters* is probably a distortion resulting from the fact that *kraters* often break in large, recognisable fragments. The number and share of small vessels is certainly higher than the graphs suggest. Archibald estimates that the number of black-glazed cups reaches into the hundreds (2013b, 147–8). This pattern repeats the picture from Thracian burials and corroborates Anelia Bozhkova's observations on the popularity of drinking cups above all other black-glazed Attic shapes in Thrace (see Chapter II, p. 82). In life and in death, the main social context for Attic pottery in Thrace was a drinking banquet.

The next most popular vessel group includes multi-purpose containers: table amphorae and *pelikai* for liquids; *askoi*, usually for oil (Sparkes & Talcott 1970, 210); and *lekanai* – bowls for anything from food, through toiletries, to toys and thread (Sparkes & Talcott 1970, 164). There are some Attic vessels for specialised purposes: perfume jars (*lekythoi*) and cosmetic boxes (*pyxides*), whose number surpasses the published figures. These containers were probably imported along with beautifying products and ideas about fashion.

One baby bottle (*guttus*) is reported from House B, although the identification is uncertain because the spout is missing (Bouzek & Musil 2003b, 72, 77 fig. 4.5). In Thrace, *gutti* have only been found in Greek coastal cities, e.g. in child graves at Apollonia. The *guttus* was probably brought to Vetren by/for someone whose way of feeding an infant required such purpose-specific equipment, otherwise foreign in the Thracian interior. Given that practices of child-rearing are often culture-specific, and passed down within families, the baby-feeder suggests the presence of Greek families at Vetren.

We can add context by using the published ceramics statistics from House A and B, occupied c. 350–300 BC (see Figure 4.6). The 430 Attic sherds represent 3.4% of all ceramic fragments in each house. Black-glazed sherds considerably outnumber red figured ones (3.3% vs. 0.1%, and 2.4% vs. 1% of the total in each house). Attic pottery constituted a fraction of the ceramic repertoire in these houses, and the ratio of Attic pots is similarly low in other trenches (4% in B'2, 7% in A6 after data in Domaradzki 2002a), suggesting

that Houses A and B reflect the overall situation in the city. In short, Attic pots were a fraction of the ceramic equipment in Vetren. They served primarily for drinking, whereas most eating, cooking, storage, etc. was done using greyware and coarseware vessels.

Although Attic imports form a small part of domestic equipment, the 430 sherds in House A and B could correspond to several dozen vessels per household. There were probably hundreds or thousands of Attic vessels in the city – a quantity supposing commercial-scale supply of Attic pots, alongside other imports. Moreover, Attic sherds occur in all trenches and all identified domestic contexts: Houses A and B, the Southern House (Bouzek & Musil 2010), the destroyed structures in D24 (Archibald 2013b), and the earliest dugouts (Vyara Petrova, pers. comm.). The wide distribution of Attic pots suggests they were widely consumed.

These observations allow us to re-evaluate the place of Attic pottery in Thrace. The preference for drinking shapes observed in the burial record is manifested also in the urban context where Attic drinking pots were combined with greyware shapes and imported amphorae to produce a hybrid drinking service. The urban assemblage from Vetren shows that Attic pottery was consumed much more widely than the burial record suggests. In the early 5th century, Attic pottery might have been restricted to a small circle of elite graves where we saw it associated with gold and silver vessels and jewellery (cf. Chapter II). But by the late 5th and 4th century, Attic imports were certainly consumed by larger circles of urban-dwellers.

The choice of drinking/serving shapes indicates that they were used in convivial events, combined with the wine which we saw through the amphora evidence. Judging by the low ratios of Attic pots in the total assemblage, they probably retained some elite connotation. We could imagine their owners used Attic vessels as status-markers or offered them to guests in the context of competitive hospitality. Alternatively, we might see the consumption of imported wine, foodstuffs, cosmetics, and pottery as a bigger package satisfying certain urban tastes. By consuming these imports, the inhabitants of Vetren we not merely competing with one another: they were sharing in communal practices and making communities.

6.4. Summary

Having examined the imported goods from a consumption perspective, we are closer to understanding why the people of Vetren desired imported pots and amphorae, how they procured and used them. The evidence shows that imported pottery was adopted and consumed mostly according to Thracian tastes and practices, with a strong emphasis on drinking cups and cosmetic containers. At the same time, by consuming imported wines, foodstuffs, and Attic pots, and by perfuming or adorning their bodies, the inhabitants of Vetren became part of a wider world of gastronomic fashions and appearance.

While Attic pottery might have served social competition on the dining table, in the overall project of identity and distinction imports supplemented locally produced goods such as fine textiles. If at Apollonia we could see the monumental expressions of identity, in Vetren we see how people made themselves and articulated their identities and differences through the more subtle but pervasive discourse of consumption. Imported materials and the products of a specialised local economy were fundamental for the sustenance of an urban identity and lifeways. Hence, we see how their hybrid idiosyncratic way of being urban arose within a network of trade and upon palimpsest of traditional and imported fashions.

I also addressed the possible reasons and the political and technological mechanics for adopting and using fiduciary coinage as a technology of exchange. Vetren complements the regional data on monetisation from Chapter II by providing settlement context for coin circulation and the consumption of imports. Two questions which remain unanswered are: was Vetren a redistributive trading centre, and what was its relationship to the surrounding region? For this, we need to turn to the regional evidence.

7. The surrounding region

The foregoing inquiry established that Vetren was a town with a mixed Thracian-Greek population and intensive monetised exchange. But the evidence from the site does not reveal if Vetren was a redistributive trade hub, as the dominant interpretation maintains. To address this question, we should examine Vetren's surroundings. This section investigates the relations between Vetren and other sites with which it reportedly traded. Another aim of this section is to review the settlement pattern in which the town was inserted, as in the Apollonia case study (Chapter III). I begin by reviewing the state of

research and the immediate vicinity of Vetren. Then I move chronologically through the EIA and LIA sites in the upper Hebros valley.

7.1. The immediate vicinity of Vetren

Originally, Domaradzki mapped several sites and coin hoards in the area around Vetren (Domaradzki 1996). Then, a French-Bulgarian intensive fieldwalking survey led by Véronique Chankowski covered a 20 km^2 area around Adzhiiska Vodenitsa (Chankowski 1999, 585). They registered sites further afield with extensive surveying, and dug sondages to investigate key surface scatters with Iron Age material. The survey results appeared in preliminary reports (Chankowski *et al.* 2001, 2005; Gotzev 2007).

The surveyors engaged directly with the debate whether Vetren was an *emporion* through two hypotheses. First, Domaradzki postulated that the installation of Greeks at Vetren would spur indigenous settlements to develop nearby and trade with the *emporion*. Second, if Vetren were a colonial settlement, one would expect a 'Greek-style' organisation of the surrounding agricultural land in allotments, *kleroi*, as the original reading of the inscription suggested (Chankowski *et al.* 2001, 733; see p. 194ff. above).

Fieldwalking registered a few surface scatters of Iron Age pottery (Figure 4.22), but sondages yielded little Iron Age material, despite their reasonably large excavation area and preserved stratigraphy. Chankowski (2001, 733–6) concluded that these surface scatters were the remains of temporary occupation related to pasture rather than satellite settlements. Domaradzki's (1996, 33) earlier mention of dressed stone architecture was not archaeologically ascertained.

The survey found no evidence that the territory around Vetren was organised like that of other 'colonial' establishments with land partitions, farms, and satellite towns (Chankowski *et al.* 2001, 736; Chankowski 2010, 242; cf. Carter 2005). Without expecting Vetren to conform to some 'colonial blueprint', it is still puzzling that the plain around Vetren is almost devoid of Greek pottery and contemporary settlements. The exceptions, Akandzhievo and Belovo, will be considered below.

Chankowski (2010, 242) underscored that the lack of LIA finds around Vetren did not result from limited sampling: the sites were revisited multiple times, and sherds were collected intensively. False negative results might result from low field visibility and erosion, but we lack data to assess the impact of these factors. While we cannot be entirely

certain that the negative results reflect the actual settlement pattern, currently there are no known settlements in the immediate vicinity of Vetren.

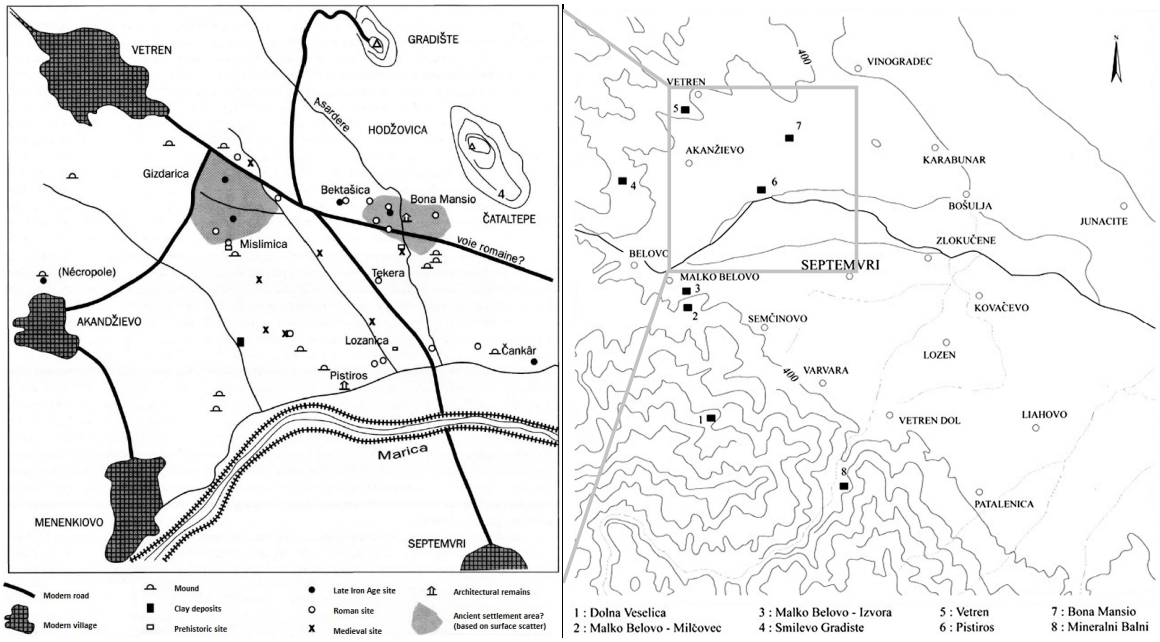

Figure 4.22. Sites around Vetren and in the upper Hebros Valley (after Chankowski 1999, 586 fig. 2; Chankowski *et al.* 2005, 1227 fig. 1)

7.2. Upper Hebros valley

Let us now explore the background in which Vetren arose (Figure 4.22). Only a few sites in the Hebros valley can be dated to the EIA. They conform to the patterns outlined in Chapter II: short-lived settlements, mostly located around natural elevations along the rim of the Hebros valley, and on tells (Yunatsite). Varvara and Belovo in the foothills can be interpreted as temporary settlements or cult areas (Gotzev 2007, 114–15). Several sanctuaries are perched on the slopes of the Rhodope: Dolna Vesselitsa (LBA–EIA1), Milevi Skali (EIA2–LIA), and Haidushko Kladenche (LIA–Roman period).

These data indicate that Vetren did not emerge from a gradually changing EIA settlement pattern; rather, Vetren's appearance was a sudden move from the foothills towards the open plain. At the same time, with its abundant imports Vetren fits in the long-term use of the Hebros valley as a communication and trade route. As we saw in Chapter II, most coin hoards and imports circulated along the valley already in the EIA. North-south connection routes between the Rhodope and the Hebros valley are marked by the distribution of certain EIA fibula types (Stoyanov 1997, 78 map 3) and the circulation of Tsepina style pottery in the LIA (Георгиева 2003). Vetren was ideally positioned to tap into these existing communication routes. What allowed the city to exist in this strategic yet

vulnerable location, in contrast to existing settlement patterns in the valley, were its fortifications.

Vetren, however, had little detectable impact in terms of generating satellite settlements. The field survey found almost no LIA sites except Chankar, where the survey detected a few greyware sherds, and Akandzhievo and Belovo, which I examine below.

7.3. Akandzhievo

Near Akandzhievo, 5 km north-east of Vetren, lies a cemetery of 15 mounds. According to the short report (Gizdova 2005, 117–21), 13 graves were cremations *in situ*, and 2 were supine inhumations. The deceased were accompanied by 'Thracian type' fibulae, needles, bracelets, spindle-whorls, an iron knife, a bone amulet, and a mix of local and imported pots, including imported shapes such as *lekythoi*, *kylikes*, dishes, and lamps. The cemetery was used between the 5th and 2nd century, although individual grave dates are unclear.

The grave inventories show a community supplied with a range of imported pots, which followed local funerary traditions: mound burial with cremation and inhumation. Although this was not exclusively Thracian practice, mound burial was very common in Thrace (see Chapter II). The community at Akandzhievo used imported pottery, coinage, and produced some brief *graffiti* – like their contemporaries at Vetren. These commonalities invite the question whether the people from Vetren buried their dead at Akandzhievo.

The mounds at Akandzhievo might have stood at considerable distance from Vetren because they served as territorial markers. For comparison, the mounds at Kolokita lay 4.5 km south of Apollonia (Chapter III), and Hohmichele mound cemetery stood 3.5 km west of the Hallstatt settlement Heuneburg. Alternatively, the Akandzhievo cemetery might belong to another settlement. Domaradzki's map (1996, 32 fig. 1.18) notes one settlement near Akandzhievo, in Buchiloto locality, but no finds from there have been published and it is unclear what part of his information came from observations or reports from locals. A silver coin hoard dated c. 500–450 BC from Akandzhievo (CH 6.7) and the *lekythoi* from the graves dated c. 450–425 BC indirectly support the existence of a habitation around Akandzhievo before the mid-5th century, i.e. before Vetren's foundation. Even if a settlement near Akandzhievo existed contemporaneously with Vetren, it is unclear whether its imports came via Vetren, as the *emporion* model implies. More primary data are needed to take this discussion further.

7.4. Belovo

Several EIA through Hellenistic-period sites have been registered around Belovo on the right bank of Hebros River, 8 km south-east of Vetren (Chankowski *et al.* 2005, 1228–42; Нехризов 2006b; Нехризов & Гоцев 2006). Two excavated sites, Izovra (EIA2-LIA) and Milchovets (early Hellenistic), produced pits containing pottery, animal bones, and small objects such as spindle-whorls, fibulae, knives, awls, needles, and a loom-weight. There were also several ceramic surface scatters (Нехризов & Гоцев 2006, 189), a group of EIA burial mounds (Gotzev forthcoming), and an early Hellenistic tomb – unfortunately, looted (Велков 1942; Нехризов 2006b). Although these sites are poorly known and often damaged, they signal the existence of one or several settlements around Belovo from the EIA to the early Hellenistic.

The excavators, Gotzev and Nekhrizov, posit that Belovo stood at the crossroads of communication routes running east-west along the Hebros, and north-south across the Rhodope Mountains. This is understandable considering the strategic location of Belovo on the Hebros River and at the entrance of the Rhodope passes around Alabak ridge. The evidence for imports, however, is limited. One pot-sherd from Izvora is identified as subgeometric north Aegean pottery, reportedly similar to those from Koprivlen in the south Rhodope (Караджинов 2010 Tabl. 7.14); otherwise, Izvora yielded only two red-figured fragments. One fibula from the EIA mounds finds parallels at Babyak in the Rhodope and at Strelcha, 60 km to the north-east (Gotzev forthcoming).

Several sites existed around Belovo before and during the settlement at Vetren, and they received a few imports – like Akandzhievo and Vetren. Beyond this, however, it is difficult to characterise the relationship between Vetren and these other sites.

In summary, the extant regional data do not support the proposition that Vetren was a redistributive trading centre. Consequently, imports at Vetren were largely brought to satisfy demand within the city. Some imports may have reached nearby communities like Akandzhievo and Belovo, or these sites may have received imports independently from Vetren, but the data are currently too few to ascertain that.

8. Conclusions and comparisons

This section will reunite the separate strands of evidence examined through this chapter in order to revise the model of Thracian-Greek relations at Vetren. I will also revisit the major interpretative challenges and Vetren's wider comparanda.

My exploration started from the idea that Vetren was a Thasian port-of-trade, the *emporion* Pistiros. After scrutinising the arguments, we saw that this hypothesis was formulated prematurely, before the archaeological evidence had been analysed. The epigraphic and historical arguments for the *emporion* Pistiros interpretation were grounded in a series of loose inferences. Finds from the site were interpreted in the shadow of the inscription and recruited into cyclical argumentation. The archaeological evidence discussed above does not corroborate the epigraphic hypothesis that Vetren was a colony with a river harbour established for long-distance trade with metals.

The archaeological finds from 27 years of excavation present the challenge of combining multiple strands of material which have been partially studied, separately published, and not previously integrated in a critical way. Though difficult to use, this material offers rich information about the life of the town and allows a re-appraisal of Thracian-Greek relations at Vetren. Let us summarise the revised model.

De-colonising Vetren

Vetren was founded in the second half of the 5th century in a strategic, well-connected but vulnerable positon in the open plain. The issue of risk was addressed with investment in sturdy fortification walls – probably built by Aegean-trained masons and architects. Within the secure ramparts, the town prospered. Abundant bronze coins document a busy, monetised local market for daily transactions, especially after 350 BC. Vetren also housed a diversified craft production, attested in the traces from metalworking, potting, roof-tile making, etc. Vetren also had significant potential for making and possibly exporting textiles, attested by the high concentration of loom-weights. The city's inhabitants consumed these craft products as well as imported drinking cups, cosmetics, fine wines, and probably many other perishable items.

At Vetren, we find multifarious types of interactions between Greeks and Thracians: trade with goods and skilled labour, co-habitation, and many accompanying activities. The dominant interpretation posits that Vetren was populated by Greek merchants and Thracians. My analysis however shows that the city drew together people from a wider

variety of backgrounds. We see this in the name inscriptions and the variety of material culture that enabled Balkan and Aegean practices of cooking, drinking, weaving, etc. The type B loom-weights – originating from a tradition rooted in the central Balkans – are among the objects which eloquently show that the dynamics of cultural interaction discussed in this thesis are better understood as continuous multilateral engagement, than a bilateral encounter between 'Greeks' and 'Thracians'.

The evidence presented in this chapter, especially the bronze coins, leads me to conclude that the multi-cultural city at Vetren was in the sphere of Odrysian economic and political authority. The chamber tomb outside the ramparts, which probably belonged to local elites, reinforces this impression.

Reconciling archaeology, text, and context

Having summarised the archaeological conclusions from Vetren, I return to the key interpretative challenges, flagged at the beginning of the chapter – resolving the relationship between archaeological and textual evidence, and situating Vetren in wider historical processes.

We can disentangle the knot between archaeological evidence and text by following each thread individually. Let us first address the relationship between Vetren and the Pistiros inscription. The inscription probably came from the site: as the survey data show, there are no other contemporary candidates. This remains an argument *ex silentio,* but I think a reasonable one.

Regarding the Pistiros identification, the epigraphic and literary arguments of Bravo, Chankowski, and Demetriou that there was only one town called Pistiros, on the Aegean coast, look compelling to me. If we accept these arguments, then why was the inscription found here? One proposed explanation is that Vetren was one of the unnamed *emporia* mentioned in the text (Bravo & Chankowski 1999).

There are however serious problems with considering Vetren an *emporion*, some of which led Demetriou to reject this explanation. It would be anachronistic and unjustified to classify the site as a formalised trading colony. This type of *emporia* appeared much later (see Hansen 1997, 2006). The archaeological material fits the loose sense of *emporion* as a market town, yet it evades familiar models (see above; Demetriou 2011) and established definitions (Wilson 1997). There is no evidence that Vetren was a regional trans-shipment centre, much less a harbour for anything more than rafts and shallow boats, used on a

seasonal basis. This brings us to the alternative proposition, that the inscription is the local copy of the decree, retained by the Thracian ruler who resided at Vetren (Demetriou 2010).

Most preceding scholarship has placed Vetren in a historical context reconstructed from the inscription. If however, we place the text in the context of the site, then the inscription stands as an elaborate example of a local ruler using writing to regulate political and commercial relations between multiple Greek actors and Thracian authorities. More evidence and more work is needed to understand how non-Greek royal chancelleries operated and how they adopted elements from Greek civic decrees (Archibald 2001, 266–7; and Graninger 2012 address this problem). For now, we can state that multi-cultural relations need to be negotiated on mutually intelligible terms, so a local ruler used Greek language and the tradition of writing decrees, to establish multilateral rules of engagement.

As for the second challenge – contextualising Vetren in broader historical processes – scholars have pursued two routes. Vetren has been inscribed either in the history of Greek colonisation as the *emporion* Pistiros, or within a Thracian narrative as early precursor of towns like Seuthopolis. The interpretation of Vetren has been a contentious issue because in either context the site challenges existing ideas about Greek colonialism and Thracian society. We saw earlier that Vetren cannot be seen as a colony. It therefore seems more justified and productive to rethink Thracian urbanism and our ideas of 5th century Thracian society.

The data from other pre-Hellenistic settlements in Thrace are scant as we saw in Chapter II; we could consider Levski and Krastevich local experiments in urbanism. Hence, we need to look further afield to understand Vetren. Given that Thrace sits at the junction of continental Europe and the Mediterranean, we can take on board examples from both of these spheres, as I noted in Chapter I.

Continental comparanda have not been explored in existing research on Vetren in detail, but they can offer important insights. In passing, Christopher Pare (2011, 53–4) proposed that Vetren and certain Hallstatt *Fürstensitze* (princely seats) share some structural characteristics and grouped them under the general term ‘nodal settlements’ or ‘gateway communities’, originally used by Archibald for Vetren. ‘Gateway community’ covers different regional settlement forms: *Fürstensitze*, *emporia*, ports of trade, etc. The concept of ‘gateway community’ elucidates a site’s function with respect to networks of connectivity and has been helpful for thinking about cultural encounters in the

Mediterranean and continental Europe (Babić 2007; cf. Burghardt 1971; Hirth 1978; Edwards *et al.* 1995). The concept of a gateway city helps to erode segregation between the Mediterranean and European Iron Age, and opens a fresh perspective on the relationship between the two.

Instructive comparisons can go further. In several aspects Vetren especially resembles Heuneburg and Mont Lassois. All of them are located in river plains to take advantage of riverine routes, but fortified to compensate for the vulnerability of this position. Each of the settlements has tumulus graves nearby, and in the case of Heuneburg and Mont Lassois, the burials are assigned to the local ruling elite. It has been suggested that the mudbrick wall at Heuneburg and some of the buildings at Mont Lassois were erected by builders familiar with Mediterranean architectural prototypes and technologies – like the ramparts at Vetren. Heuneburg's and Mont Lassois' imports appear modest in comparison to Vetren, but impressive for central Europe. Recent research has re-cast these sites and other central European *Fürstensitze* as early urban settlements (Brun & Chaume 2013; Chaume 2001; Fernández-Götz & Krauße 2012, 2013). The data from Vetren allow us to extend this re-appraisal of Iron Age urbanism to Thrace. Consequently, Vetren can be considered an early city, a gateway community, and a market town.

The foregoing revision of Thracian urbanism helps to reformulate the model of engagement with the Aegean. The evidence from Vetren challenges the value of Greek imports as exclusive status-markers used mainly by the elite – a perception created by the burial evidence (see Chapter II). The abundant imports in the city show that a wide circle of urban consumers enjoyed Attic drinking cups, cosmetics, fine wine, and other imported delicacies. In the urban context, using Attic pottery (for example) did not mark extreme wealth but familiarity with certain etiquette and membership in a community of taste and fashion. The use of foreign technologies in the city (particularly architecture and specialised pottery production) also shows that beyond elite aggrandisement, these technologies were instrumental for making the urban infrastructure and economy.

The Vetren evidence also challenges the colonial model of Thracian-Greek relations, which postulates a core-periphery dynamic (see Chapter I and p. 204ff.). Over the course of this chapter, the story of Vetren has changed from one about colonialism to one about migration and urbanism. The archaeological material shows the movement of craftspecialists – masons, traders, weavers, potters, etc. – who brought their techniques and traditions across regions. In Vetren's early days, which remain obscure, skilled people

might have migrated on commission or as opportunistic individuals. Over time, Vetren probably attracted people from diverse backgrounds, because this is what cities do: they offer economic opportunities, and people often migrate due to economic push and pull factors. Vetren's inhabitants were mixed in terms of origin, skill, wealth, and probably many other aspects of their identity.

These observations force us to reconsider the diversity of settlements, including colonial ones. 'Indigenous' cities and 'colonial' settlements have more in common than the binary classification of 'Greeks' and 'others' might convey. The exploration of Vetren and Apollonia shows that each city has its history emerging from *ad hoc* arrangements between diverse groups of people, unfolding in response to local opportunities and constraints. In the concluding chapter, I will explore the wider implications of this revision.

Chapter V. CONCLUSIONS

This thesis started from the observation that the history of Thracian-Greek relations is often told through narratives of colonisation, trade, and acculturation. The flaws in this approach are evident and the cracks are growing deeper. This study set out to propose an alternative view by examining *how* and *why* people in Thrace adopted Aegean things, technologies and practices. I posited that – and then explored how – 'Greek' or 'Thracian' identities and the nature of Thracian-Greek relations varied across time, geography, and socio-historical context.

I approached this task using several conceptual tools from post-colonial anthropology (which places indigenous agency centre-stage) and a post-structuralist critique of representation (see Chapter I). These include an appreciation of the shifting nature of identities and meaning; a reflexive engagement with political dimensions of archaeological discourse; and the material culture turn in the social sciences. For the purposes of this thesis, the thrust of this conceptual framework is that identities are not a permanent feature of who people *are*, but a constantly changing result of what people *do*. An individual is constantly in the process of becoming a number of things – a Thracian, an Apollonian, an urban dweller, an aristocrat, a weaver, etc. – through practices that produce and sustain a certain identity, and through differentiation from other individuals and groups. Practices of identity and processes of historical transformation involve interaction between people, objects, and the landscape. This framework helps us to understand the cultural encounters and social transformations in Thracian societies of the 1st millennium BC.

These theoretical concepts can be translated into a workable archaeological method, because they are rooted in material practices, especially in consumption and technological transfer. By addressing what people and objects *did*, this conceptual apparatus allows us to move beyond an analysis of representation (e.g. Attic pots signify Greek people, Greek

trade, or Greek influence) towards a more nuanced understanding of individuals' choices and their relation to larger social structures and historical processes.

Over the course of this thesis, we explored the variability of Thracian-Greek encounters and identities at a regional scale across settlements, burial and cult practices (Chapter II). Then Chapters III and IV focused on Thracian-Greek relations in two cities, Apollonia on the Pontic coast and Vetren on River Hebros.

This project involved synthesising a wide range of data from different sub-disciplines of prehistoric and Classical archaeology (e.g. epigraphy, numismatics, amphora studies) alongside numerous excavation reports and finds catalogues. I cannot be an expert in all of these fields, so I compensated with reading, and consulting colleagues through my extensive fieldwork at a number of the sites. Where possible, I complemented or revised faulty data through primary research on museum collections and excavation archives. Yet, I frequently had to trust short preliminary publications and piece together fragmentary evidence. As a result, some of my arguments are low in resolution and sometimes woven on strings of possibility. Such risks and compromises are inherent in any synthetic enterprise, and I took them believing that the bigger picture was worth it.

This concluding chapter reviews how 'the bigger picture' has shifted. By following several threads running across the chapters, I will recount the key outcomes regarding the movement of people, objects, and technologies.

Mobility and connectivity beyond colonialism

One point I have been emphasising is the existence of pre-colonial networks for exchanging ideas and goods and an appreciation of human mobility, especially the movements of indigenous people, craft specialists, mercenaries, merchants, etc.

As the historiographical review showed, most scholars have under-estimated the scale and significance of mobility in the prehistoric Balkans, and traditional narratives of Thracian-Greek relations cast Greek colonists and traders as historical agents, while Thracian societies gladly and passively received imports and influence. In contrast, a few scholars have been populating the history of the Balkans with diverse mobile indigenous and Greek historical actors (Домарадски 1995; Archibald 1998; Owen 2009). Building on their work, my study considers how the patterns of mobility and connectivity changed over the

first millennium BC – and how the cultural encounters they engendered changed accordingly.

EIA Thrace, we saw in Chapter II, was a mosaic of sedentary, semi-sedentary, and mobile communities, frequently moving between short-lived settlements in the plain. Mobile people carry – and share – their ideas, technologies, and material culture through different modalities. These movements and exchanges are some of the human activities underpinning the spread of many material phenomena, such as some fibula fashions, and the geometric pottery koine of the EIA. The spread of shared fashions most probably involved the transfer of patterns and ideas on various media, including textiles, metal, etc., alongside technological transfer among craftspeople (Ников 2002). We also noted that across several regions communities settled in locations with better connectivity and access to imports (see Thasos (Owen 2009), the Bay of Burgas (Chapter III), and Vetren (Chapter IV) at a later date).

This was the context in which Greek settlers arrived on the north Aegean and Pontic coasts. Sometimes their encounter with indigenous people resulted in violent clashes, e.g., over the silver mines at Abdera. In other cases, opportunistic groups from both sides found an alignment of mutual interests, and co-existed peacefully, e.g., at Apollonia (Chapter III).

During the LIA Thrace saw the rise of cities. As the examples of Vetren, Krastevich, Koprivlen, and Levski show, these cities were made through the use of imported technologies, which initially had to be brought by architects, masons, roof-tile makers, etc. craftspeople trained in the Aegean. Various further indications – specifically, the name inscriptions and purpose-specific objects, which facilitate culturally-entrenched practices such as cooking pots and baby-bottles, loom-weights, and the bath at Krastevich – show that early Thracian cities, like Apollonia, pulled in people from different places. Once we recognise that cities are mixed, this erodes the distinction between colonial and indigenous cities and the boundary between Thrace and Greece becomes ever more porous and permeable.

After the mid-4th century, the Macedonian conquest brought new waves and new modes of mobility, as Philip II displaced people across the Empire, founded new cities (e.g. Kabyle, Philipopolis), and interfered with pre-existing economic and political structures.

These observations on mobility and migration beyond colonialism complement the historical evidence that Athenian military and political men moved to Thrace as a result of exile and in pursuit of opportunity (Sears 2013), and Thracian mercenaries, slaves, and sex workers were among the most mobile people in the ancient Mediterranean. We catch a glimpse of their histories in fragmentary anecdotes (Vlassopoulos 2013, 100, 124–5), on figured Attic vases (Tsiafakis 2000a, 2000b, 2002), and, most copiously, in epigraphic documents tracing the spread of Thracian names across the Mediterranean (Dana 2014).

Clearly we have been under-estimating the scale and variety of human mobility in Iron Age Thrace. As a result, we have misunderstood the nature and impact of Greek colonialism, and scholars have often exaggerated the historical agency of the Greeks. Once we appreciate the mobility of indigenous people, we are effectively restoring their historical agency as traders, travellers, pilgrims, etc. Our account of Thracian-Greek interactions becomes more faithful once we populate history with diverse actors, pursuing and negotiating diverse agendas. This complexity and diversity of encounters does not conform to the tropes of colonialism and Hellenisation, but calls for rich contextual histories, as I hope the case-studies here provide. Hence, we can transcend vague notions of influence and interaction, and look at the inter-actors in motion.

'Greek colonisation' does not seem the exceptional conquest modern historiography has sometimes made it out to be (Owen 2005; van Dommelen 1997), once it is contextualised in a long series of migrations and other movements across the Mediterranean (Broodbank 2013 especially p. 524ff.). The case of Thrace shows that long-standing connection routes extended into continental regions, and Greek cities appeared and flourished as extensions to pre-existing networks. This appreciation of widespread human movement and connectivity allows us to build a more accurate understanding of how technologies, ideas, skills, and materials travelled and crossed boundaries.

How objects become entangled

Let us now examine the movement of objects across cultural boundaries. Personal adornments are among the most mobile objects through the 1st millennium BC (see Chapter II). EIA and LIA elites used imported personal adornments alongside local objects to elaborate individual bodies in life and in death. The necklace from Lyubcha, made of Baltic amber and an Egyptian scarab, and found in an 8th- or 7th-century grave, powerfully illustrates how exotic items from different sources were combined in hybrid sets (see p.

75). During the LIA, elites continued to create hybrid burial assemblages, but on a grander scale. For example the Duvanlii graves combine Achaemenid silver plate, Egyptian(?) alabaster flasks, Attic pottery, gold jewellery, and red-tinted textiles. Greek imports were combined with luxury items from different sources. In many cases, what we recognise as 'Greek' influence was actually hybrid Graeco-Persian metalware or architecture. The consumption of such imports was guided by the elites' effort to stand apart from other members of their community whilst participating a wider circle of elite fashions, particularly in the Classical and Hellenistic period.

The luxury imports in LIA graves were more than status symbols. The wealth of LIA elites materialised a new kind of political power and derived from a social structure different in scale and organisation than that of their EIA predecessors. The silver vessels of the Odrysian rulers were not just exquisite *objets d'art* but lump sums of money which people used to mediate relations of tribute, enlist political credit, and, when other means failed, to pay armies. They were the symbols *and* substance of power – again, to borrow Archibald's phrase (1998, 91ff.). Odrysian elites adopted the style, the objects, and some of the tribute practices that went with them from Achaemenid or Anatolian models that they adapted to the Thracian socio-historical context (see Chapter II). Imported material culture and foreign models of power served Thracian elites to forge new forms of hierarchy and new kinds of social relations. In this endeavour, they used every resource available, from the enchanting power of beautiful adornments to the brute force of armies. Let us now consider imports beyond elite circles.

Wine and wine-drinking equipment are one group of imports that became widespread in Thrace through the LIA. Wine was probably introduced to Thrace via coastal cities like Apollonia, and quickly found eager drinkers in the interior. Soon after Apollonia's foundation, transport amphorae and drinking and serving vessels were imported to Debelt in the Bay of Burgas and Karnobat, 100 km inland (see Chapter III). The early imports were rare and treasured possessions: a 6th-century Milesian amphora was kept for decades, and then used as a cremation urn at Karnobat. They occur mainly in elite burials: during the 5th century, Attic pottery appears within the most ostentatious burials (see Duvanlii). Wine fitted in an established context of feasting and drinking, particularly around burials in Thrace. The imported vessels that came with wine enhanced the adoption of the new drink among the elite increasingly concerned with distinction. Some of the imports might have been presents, lubricating the encounter between Greek settlers and local elites – a

role wine has played in a range of encounters between Greeks and non-Greeks, from Etruria, through southern Gaul, to the Bosporan Kingdom (Dietler 1995, 2005, 2010; Morgan 2009).

Over time, wine and Attic pottery shifted from the elite burial context to a wider group of consumers, particularly among urban dwellers. Vetren, where amphorae and Attic drinking cups are found in their hundreds, illustrates this phenomenon (see Chapter IV). Urban demand evidently was an important driver behind the import of wine and foodstuffs that were carried in quantity hundreds of kilometres overland.

Alongside Attic pots for drinking wine Vetren's inhabitants consumed Attic perfumes and cosmetic containers, imported delicacies, and other, locally-produced fineries, such as textiles (see p. 226ff.). By consuming these commodities from near and far, the people of Vetren cultivated a specific experience of urban life, which differentiated them from other non-urban inhabitants of Thrace and made them members of a wider world of urban communities – in a similar way as rich burials gave indigenous elites membership within an elite circle.

The city and its idiosyncratic way of life were created through the hybrid combination of Greek and local ways of building, crafting, and consumption – in short, making the world and living in it. In this light, the distinction between Greek imports as luxury status symbols and functional technologies creates a false dichotomy: both kinds of objects helped people to fulfil certain projects of production and identity.

Technology

One popular technological import was the knowledge for making greyware pottery. We can trace its history across all chapters of this thesis. Greyware pottery, an amalgamation of different west Anatolian traditions, was introduced to Thrace by potters from Apollonia, among other cities. Greyware vessels were imported to sites around the Bay of Burgas alongside early (Archaic-period) wine imports (see Chapter III). Over the 6th and 5th century BC, greyware decisively replaced the EIA tradition of stamped pottery across Thrace. Greyware brought new shapes for eating and drinking and new technologies of manufacture: the potter's wheel, various clay-processing and firing techniques. In many ways greyware was a radical departure from low-fired hand-made EIA ceramics. In other ways however, the adoption of greyware stood on existing economic conditions and

aesthetic predilections. Greyware pots were grafted on an existing taste for smooth polished surfaces with metallic sheen, as we find on EIA pottery. One condition which facilitated the adoption of greyware was pre-existing specialisation in EIA ceramic production. Pottery-making was a specialised, skilled activity concentrated within certain areas of EIA settlements. Hence, greyware was an elaboration of existing production and consumption practices.

The material from Debelt and possibly also Malkoto Kale (Chapter III) elicits that wheel-made pots were taken up gradually and complemented an enduring hand-made tradition. As greyware spread across Thrace in the 5th century, its uptake in each community involved a combination of learning as potters moved and trained with other potters over a period of a decade or more, and creative experimentation. The process of experimentation and selective appropriation of foreign shapes produced the idiosyncratic Thracian greyware assemblage which we find at Vetren (Chapter IV). By the time of Vetren we see that local potters had incorporated some 'original' Aeolian/Ionian shapes alongside Attic forms. In graves, we also find indigenous greyware shapes like high-handled cups, whilst other shapes, such as fish plates, garnered little interest in Thrace. For potters these technological and morphological transformations entailed a deepening specialisation of production and the organisation of labour. For consumers the new shapes involved a changing etiquette of eating and drinking.

While table pottery and table manners were changing dynamically, cooking pots remained an area of conservatism. The same hand-made jar shapes persisted from the EIA to the Hellenistic. The cooking practices which these vessels enabled probably also remained conservative. It is this mosaic of receptivity and selective adoption that makes up the core of Thracian-Greek interactions. In the case of pottery, it is likely that serving pots were open to imports and technological innovation because the dining table was a field of competition and a zone of cultural encounters. By contrast, cooking practices remained an area where traditional identities and differences between inner Thrace and the Greek cities

were more perceptible.[58] Detailed floral and faunal studies could expose further differences in foodways.

Other spheres of production had their own history and logic of technological transfer. Imported building technologies such as mudbrick, roof-tiles, and stone masonry visibly transformed the fabric and nature of Thracian settlements. Coinage, and particularly fiduciary coinage, aided and transformed exchanges at various scales. We might see the adoption of silver and fortifications as technologies that served to exchange, hoard, and safeguard the new wealth of the 5th century.

Fiduciary coinage on the other hand served to facilitate daily transactions in newly emerged cities like Vetren. Bronze money was an imported technology which found fertile ground in Thrace long before many Aegean cities. As we saw in the case of Vetren, where I propose that Odrysian coins were minted, the adoption of fiduciary coinage involved certain social and technological conditions: namely, the power of Thracian rulers to guarantee the value of bronze coins, the utility of small change in daily transactions, bronze-working tradition in the city, and the presence of skilled strikers and die-engravers probably from the north Aegean coast, recruited to serve local rulers. In all these cases – pottery, building, coinage – we see that Greek technological imports were adopted selectively and contextually to serve particular social projects. Crucially, they built on existing practices of production and consumption and they fulfilled existing needs. These technologies also transformed the systems in which they were inserted: for example, by consolidating the organisation of labour around specialised production, encouraging monetised exchange, and entrenching differences between rich and poor, between craft specialists, and between town and country.

Other technologies, like writing, found limited use in Thrace. Even in cities most people could barely scratch a letter on a pot and perhaps read numbers. Writing remained limited to the official sphere of decrees (e.g. the Vetren and Messambria inscriptions) and perhaps merchant correspondence (cf. the bullae from Vetren). It was not until the Hellenistic period that votive dedications spread more widely. Evidently Greek language and script

[58] Contrast, for example, the cooking jars from inner Thrace with the Greek cooking pots and idiosyncratic fish grills from Apollonia.

served Thracian elites and possibly merchants in their dealings with the Greeks, but they had little utility within Thracian society.[59]

The adoption of imported technologies – writing, coinage, wheel-made pottery, mudbrick architecture, and perhaps stone masonry – cannot be mapped on a binary axis as a 'Greek' technology passing into 'Thracian' hands. Craftspeople transmitted and adopted each of these technologies selectively, from region to region, as and when they served a purpose in the local context. For example, Aeolian and Ionian traditions in making greyware pottery were brought to Apollonia by migrant potters in the 6th century. Over the next generations, potters across Thrace adopted greyware. We see it again at 5th–4th century Vetren enriched and hybridised with Attic shapes.

Identity and Difference

In many respects, Thrace in the LIA was a materially and socially different world than it had been in the EIA, with different power structures, social relations, economic organisation, and cities. We can understand the making of this different world as a process of continuous redrawing of the lines of identity and difference, as individuals took opportunities to advance their standing, consolidate their power, or to bring new know-how to their craft practices. The foregoing discussion illustrates the manifold ways in which technological exchange and cross-cultural consumption built bridges – through connecting economic flows, knowledge transfer, and shared tastes and fashions – and drew lines of difference as people manipulated objects in different spheres of social competition and used various social and material strategies to consolidate their status. Differences were deepened and experienced daily in the divergent life experiences and social roles of potters, bronze-smiths, builders, and weavers; kings, urban-dwellers, and country folk. Sometimes specific identities were forged and sustained within this palimpsest, e.g. among the Apollonian Greeks. But the nature of this process was highly contingent and contextually negotiated.

[59] This contrasts for example with Etruria, where writing served mostly in ceremonial contexts and for asserting elite genealogies (Stoddart & Whitley 1988).

One crucial outcome of the thesis is to underline that the inter-actors in 'Thracian-Greek' relations had many and changing faces. The Milesian colonists who arrived on the shores of Apollonia, the anonymous roof-tile makers, potters and builders, the Athenians who bequeathed Kotys honorary citizenship, and the armies of the Macedonian Empire, might have shared Greek language and some lifeways, but they all related to 'Greekness' very differently (cf. Hall 2002). The same complexity and dynamism applies to Thracian communities and individuals. Although we cannot pin down its discursive articulation in the absence of writing, the archaeological record examined in this thesis allows us to trace their shifting discourses of differentiation.

While culture-historical discourse often sees an encounter between Thracian and Greek 'culture', the emphasis on practices adopted here helps to appreciate the different processes behind encounters with Graeco-Persian silver plate, Aeolian/Ionian greyware, and the Macedonian version of Hellenism. We should also remember that as imported objects and practices became appropriated, they might have lost their original foreign association and become part of 'Thracian' culture. For example, the potters of Vetren owned their craft, which derived from technological recipe imported many generations earlier, and which continued to draw on foreign traditions such as Attic. It was only in certain situations, as we saw at Apollonia, that communities made explicit efforts to consolidate uniform identities according to their specific political and social agendas. But more widely, what we have constructed as 'Thracian' or 'Greek' culture was fundamentally the product of continuous cultural exchange and hybridisation. The significance of this insight comes from the contextual history of how a society remade itself through the gradual and punctuated shifting in a great deal of daily practices borrowed from different neighbouring cultures and adopted for local agendas.

This thesis leaves many open questions and avenues for future research. I have skirted around sub-regions where the evidence is scant, such as northern Thrace and 'Turkish' Thrace (although key published sites from these regions are listed in the catalogue). There are also several thematic blank areas. We still know little about the economic infrastructure of Thracian society and how imported technologies, crops, and intensifying craft production affected agriculture and the environment. The Thracian countryside has yet to be explored systematically. Most people lived in rural settlements, and probably experienced the social changes I discuss very differently from urban dwellers in Vetren

and Apollonia. The impact of Macedonian imperial presence is another topic which merits further research informed by social archaeology.

At the end, let us explore what the case of Thrace can contribute to post-colonial studies in archaeology and beyond. Ancient Thrace throws into sharp relief the challenges of applying post-colonial theory in archaeology. As we have seen through the preceding chapters, the extant archaeological data from Thrace are low in resolution; many sites have suffered erosion, looting, and complex depositional processes; we often lack adequate contextual information; the material from settlements in particular has been excavated, studied, and published in a way that privileges categories of artefacts over assemblages of objects found together. These issues make it difficult to reconstruct human practices: for example, we can seldom identify how people used Greek imports within a household, we do not know how many households within a settlement consumed imported wine and Attic pottery or cooked with Greek cooking pots. This is problematic because the examination of practices, i.e. how people adopted and used foreign objects in their daily lives, is central to post-colonial studies in archaeology (see Chapter I).

Highlighting the problems will hopefully encourage archaeologists to adjust their fieldwork and publication strategies so that future studies can draw on more high-resolution data. But until better evidence comes to light, we need to rely on pragmatic solutions and make the most of the material we have. Where we lack high-resolution data, I have adjusted the scale of analysis, e.g., by discussing the consumption of imports and the adoption of technologies at a regional scale or within a settlement. I have also adopted a very wide definition of 'imports', including imported objects, technologies, and practices. This approach allows us to use existing resources such as catalogues of coin hoards and pottery and to study them with new questions in mind. This thesis shows that even with such low-resolution data, it is still possible to overcome colonial narratives with the tools of post-colonial theory and to reach a more balanced understanding of cultural encounters and social change in societies like Thrace. The problems of Thracian archaeology are not unique and the ways I have addressed these problems can be applied elsewhere.

While archaeological evidence often lacks detail (especially in the case of Thrace), it does have chronological depth. This makes us archaeologists especially well-equipped to tell stories about cultural encounters and transformations that span the long term (e.g. Dietler 2011). Because Thrace had continuous contact with the Aegean overland and by sea, it

allows us to study the appropriation and hybridising of foreign material culture over the centuries. Greyware pottery offers a good, archaeologically visible example of this process: technological know-how and vessel shapes from different ceramic traditions (Ionian, Aeolian, Attic, indigenous 'Thracian') were selectively appropriated and combined over the centuries, layer by layer, to produce a hybrid local greyware repertoire. The burial evidence examined in Chapter II illustrates well that what we call 'Greek' imports in Thrace is in fact a changing mix of elements taken from Graeco-Persian, north and east Aegean, Athenian, Hellenistic/Macedonian material culture, and that each 'original' repertoire was already hybrid. Such archaeologically-grounded examples might help to establish productive conversation with scholars from less theoretically explicit traditions. More importantly however, placing the process of hybridisation in a long-term perspective suggests that hybrid material culture lost its foreignness and ambiguity over time and came to be perceived as one's own 'stable' material culture repertoire. Adopting a long term perspective brings us to use post-colonial theory to understand a wide range of encounters with difference that were not necessarily 'colonial'. This is another contribution that archaeology can make to the comparative study of cultural and colonial encounters through history: archaeology sheds light on a world of different political and economic institutions, but it is a world where concerns with power and transformation still apply.

This brings us to shortly reconsider the concept of hybridity. As noted in the introduction, hybridity has gained popularity among archaeologists, but it has been used in different ways. On the one hand it is easy to describe objects with mixed features as hybrid and stop there. On the other hand Peter van Dommelen (2014) has insisted on recuperating the subtlety of early discussions where hybridity was introduced as a tool for investigating the ambiguous aspects of colonial situations and for examining subversion of the dominant culture (van Dommelen 1997, 309). But archaeological evidence seldom allows us to identify subversive or even counterhegemonic hybrid practices – not least because the power balance is often contested or unclear.

Archaeology is then faced with the question of how to operationalise hybridity. This concern has been raised in recent publications (van Pelt 2013a) and conferences (e.g., in a dedicated session at the 2015 meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists in Glasgow). In Chaper I, I grouped together several ways to operationalise hybridity and then applied them through subsequent chapters. These include examining the specific

practices of production and consumption that involve hybrid objects (e.g., greyware pottery, the red-figure jug from Karnobat), investigating how discourses of hybridity or homogeneity are constructed and to what end (e.g., at Apollonia), and considering cross-cultural consumption and the adoption of foreign technologies as a strategy to claim membership in particular communities (e.g., in the case of elite graves with hybrid architecture and mixed grave goods). Such flexible use of the concept of hybridity expand its explanatory potential beyond its original use to examine mixture as subversion and allow us to address a series of other aspects of cultural encounters.

Finally, this thesis contributes some historiographical insights. Previous post-colonial writing in Mediterranean archaeology has exposed the complex links between narratives of ancient colonialism (Greece) and imperialism (Rome) and modern imperial conquests, particularly those of France and Britain (e.g., van Dommelen 1997; Owen 2005; Dietler 2011). Bulgaria, by contrast, offers a series of very different political settings: a young nation state in the early 20th century, a socialist republic, a democracy in transition in the 1990s, and a European Union member in the 2000s. At different points in this thesis we have seen how these circumstances shaped academic engagement with Greek colonialism or influence, and how antiquity was recruited into modern identity politics and meaning-making. One recurrent theme is that the link to Classical Greek antiquity has served to assert Bulgaria's membership within 'European civilisation' (cf. Filov, the Thracology school, the exhibition of Thracian artefacts that celebrated Bulgaria's accession to the EU in 2007). We have also seen that Philhellenism sometimes reinforced and sometimes contended with a nationalistic (or Thracocentric) agenda. Such uses of the past can skew interpretations (e.g. Vetren). They can also extend into antiquity and thus consolidate an orientalising discourse about Balkan identity: Thrace became part of European (pre)history by being colonised. The picture that emerges from this thesis hopefully points a way to telling this history differently.

Whilst many questions remain open, this thesis has sought to elicit some formerly dark areas of knowledge by providing an updated review of the evidence from Thracian archaeology; to wrestle the narrative of Thracian-Greek encounters from the myths of Bulgarian nationalism and Philhellenism, as far as possible; thereby to offer an alternative narrative of Thracian-Greek interactions, placing people and practices back in history and showing that Thracian communities of the Iron Age changed not through a process of 'acculturation' and 'Hellenisation', but through the accumulating changes in daily

practices, selective borrowing from different neighbouring cultures, and adapting the borrowed elements to local purposes. Some of the epistemological issues and social dynamics discussed here have resonance beyond Thrace, in a world where migration and inter-cultural encounters continue to engender tensions around identity and social change.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. GAZETTEER OF SITES

This gazetteer gives a basic summary for sites discussed in the text. My aim is to provide a quick reference resource, and an up-to-date catalogue of the key EIA and LIA sites in Thrace. Some sites presented here have been catalogued in previous doctoral theses in the public domain, which I used as a starting point (Archibald 1998; Czyborra 2001; Hawthorne 2009; Кисьов 2009b). The remainder of the information was collected mainly from preliminary site reports, published annually (*Археологически открития и разкопки* (AOR)).

This list is not exhaustive and I give more details for sites which yielded evidence that speaks to my research questions. Hence, each entry lists the location, date, function of a site, and notable details such as imported objects or early instances of imported technologies or 'foreign' practices. For a more comprehensive database, see the *Archaeological Map of Bulgaria* [http://naim-bas.com/akb/], a restricted-access electronic catalogue of all archaeological sites, curated by the National Archaeological Institute in Sofia.

Sample entry: Site name

Location, Province / Region
Site name in Bulgarian / Greek / Turkish

Period, site type, brief description, comments.

Imports: XYZ

References: (References)

Ada Tepe

Krumovgrad, East Rhodope
Ада Тепе, гр. Крумовград

LBA-EIA gold mine and settlement, 15th–second half of the 8th century. A 495 m high hill, exploited as an open cast mine from the LBA. Rescue excavations found various forms of ore extraction, a 14-metre-long underground gallery, work stations, dumps, and habitation areas.

References: Popov *et al.* 2011; preliminary overview: Popov & Jockenhövel 2010; experimental metalwork: Stoychev *et al.* 2014; field reports: Нехризов 2002, pottery: 2005b, 169–228, 2006a; Попов & Илиев 2006; Попов & Ников 2012

Aghios Georgios

10 km inland, N of Maroneia, Greece
Άγιος Γεώργιος

EIA (9th – 8th century) – Classical period settlement. A 267 m hill, near the north Aegean coast, naturally defended from the north. The site is traditionally interpreted as a Thracian hillfort, but the relation between the EIA pottery and the stratigraphy of the walls is unclear. There is no evidence of Archaic-period occupation – the site might have been abandoned in the 7th – 6th century and re-occupied later.

References: Isaac 1986, 112–3; Τριαντάφυλλος 1990, 297–322

Ahtopol

Ahtopol, Black Sea coast
гр. Ахтопол

It has been hypothesised that Ahtopol was an Athenian apoikia called Agathopolis on the basis of two 4th / 3rd century inscriptions found on the north side of the peninsula and accidental coin finds. However, the evidence for pre-Hellenistic occupation is scarce and questionable. Rescue excavations and accidental finds from the city include inscriptions, figured, and hand-made pottery from the late 1st millennium BC. Unpublished fragments black glaze vessels, and amphorae came from the corner of Ribarska and Ushakov Str. (Гюзелев 2009). More substantial stratified material from the Hellenistic period (mould-made bowls, terracottae) was found near the Greek School.

References: Ганева *et al.* 1990; Velkov 1994; Avram 2002; field survey: Гергова *et al.* 2014; recent excavations: Гергова & Иванов 2013

Akandzhievo

Akandzhievo, Pazardzhik province
с. Акинджиево

LIA mound cemetery. 15 mounds excavated in 1983–4, and published in a short report. The rite was in situ cremation in 13 burials and supine inhumation in 2. The grave goods included bronze ornaments (3 'Thracian type' fibulae, 7 needles, 5 bracelets), spindle whorls, an iron knife, and a bone amulet. The ceramics were a mix of local and imported wares, including imported shapes such as *lekythoi*, *kylikes*, dishes, and lamps. *Lekythoi* were particularly popular: the publication depicts three, and dates them to c. 450–425 BC based on parallels from Apollonia. Another *terminus post quem* is provided by a 5th century coin from Aegae in Macedonia, placed between the legs of the deceased in Mound 17. Gizdova dates the cemetery broadly between the 5th and 2nd century, although the individual dates of the tumuli remain unclear.

Imports (?): BG vessels, lamps, *lekythoi*, coins.

References: Gizdova 2005

Alexandrovo Tomb

Alexandrovo, Haskovo province
с. Александрово

Early Hellenistic *tholos* chamber tomb (date based on iconography). Corridor leading to a *tholos* chamber with mural paintings. Upper frieze depicts a hunting scene with boar, the lower frieze – a banquet. Looted.

Imports: the murals might be the work of Macedonian painters (*SEG* 54:628; Dana 2015, 250); the scenes exhibit a series of similarities with Anatolian art (Vassileva 2010, 40–2); the figures appear to be *anaxyrides* – colourful trousers, which in Attic painting are associated with Phrygians, Persians, and Skythians; and short Greek-style tunics (*chitons/exomis*, according to Miller). The iconography might reflect contemporary dress fashions in Thrace, although we cannot be sure.

References: Китов 2004a, 2004b, 2005b; Стоянов 2008; Miller 2013, 194–5

Aquae Calidae (Burgas mineral baths)

near Banevo, Burgas province
Аквае Калиде, Бургаски минерални бани

LIA sanctuary (?) around a mineral spring. Around 3000–4000 coins were found during the digging of a well, along with other objects interpreted as votive deposits: plaques to the Three nymphs (Roman), personal adornments. It is unclear what the practices were, other than that they involved votive offerings near the spring, and the use of lamps. The site continued to function as a Roman bath, so the earlier strata were disturbed and difficult to reconstruct.

The earliest coins are an Apollonian drachm from the first half of the 5th century, and a bronze coin of Amatokos, around the turn of the 5th – 4th century. In the second half of the 4th century, the most abundant coins are issues of Philip II, Alexander III, Messambria, Apollonia, also Pontic cities (Histria, Tomis, Odessos, Byzantion), Aegean cities (Maroneia, Abdera, Lysimacheia, Ainos, Kos, Abydos). Seuthes III and Kabyle are also represented, as well

as Thracian rulers of the 1st century BC – 1st century AD, and Roman coins.

Imports: coins, BG lamps

References: Герасимов 1955; Karajotov & Kiashkina 1994; Kiashkina 1994; Карайотов *et al.* 2000, 26–33; Гюзелев 2009, 183

Assenovets

Assenovets, Sliven province
с. Асеновец

EIA – beginning of the LIA settlement (?). Much of the material comes from pits and disturbed layers, no associated structures.

Imports (?): Grey ware vessels from the 6th century.

References: Kančev 1974, 66; Кынчев 1982, 259–62; Кънчев 1984, 136; greyware pottery: Ников 2008

Atiya Cape

near Chernomorets, Black Sea coast, Burgas province
н. Атия, с. Черноморец

A peninsula 10 km NW of Apollonia. Isolated finds: pot hoard of c. 2000 arrow-coins; mould for arrow-coins; fragmented Archaic *kouros* statue. Some graves, including tile-graves with Apollonian stamps. All these suggest a settlement, producing arrow-coins, related to Apollonia.

Imports: the *kouros* statue – from Ionian workshops? (Laugier 2015, 292)

References: Гълъбов 1952, 93–102; Laugier 2015

Babyak

Babyashka Chuka peak, Blagoevgrad province, west Rhodope Mountains
вр. Бабяшка чука, с.Бабяк

EIA2-Hellenistic sanctuary (most active periods 9th–late 3rd century; 2nd–1st century). The sanctuary is situated over two adjacent peaks, reaching 1653 m above sea level. Most of the activities were concentrated at the lower one. A multi-layered clay altar is considered the central feature during the EIA. At the start of the LIA, a rubble stone wall was built, enclosing an area of 2.5 dca around the smaller peak. Within it, there were various features, including platforms, altars, and pits. The objects, interpreted as votive deposits or sacrificial residue, included ceramic vessels, tools for agricultural and craft production, weapons (arrow and spear heads), and items of adornment, predominantly fibulae.

References: Gotzev 1995 – EIA pottery; Тонкова & Гоцев 2008; Василева 2013 – LIA fibulae

Bakarlashko Kale

Rossen, Burgas province
Бакърлъшко Кале, с. Росен

A dry stone wall enclosure of about 0.1 ha on the highest point of Medni Rid / Copper Ridge. The site is among the putative EIA hillforts around Apollonia, but surveys did not report any dating finds.

References: Домарадски & Карайотов 1976; Делев *et al.* 1982; Домарадски *et al.* 1992

Batkun

Batkun, Pazardzhik province
с. Баткун

A late 4th – early 3rd century inscription found near the village, now lost. The text mentions that the citizens of an unknown community dedicate a statue of Apollo to an unknown honorand and his brothers, and commit to crown it at every festival (πανήγυρις). The *panegyris* can be interpreted as a religious festival, accompanied by a commercial fair (Tzochev 2015a; Домарадски 1995, 24)

References: *IGBulg* III.1 1114; Tsonchev 1941

Begliktash

near Primorsko, Black Sea coast
Бегликташ, гр. Приморско

EIA, Hellenistic sanctuary. A group of picturesque rock formations (boulders, stone platforms) near the sea coast. The excavations found clay platforms and various offerings, including 'Thracian', Hellenistic, and Roman pottery. Recent excavations

report a layer with EIA material. The 1st millennium BC finds reportedly date between the 8th and 5th century. Several groups of dolmens lie nearby, around Kitka peak.

References: Шкорпил & Шкорпил 1913, 258–9; Делев *et al.* 1982, 348; Делев 1990, 149; Дражева *et al.* 2003; Дражева & Недев 2005

Belish

Belish, Lovech province
с. Белиш

EIA grave. Cenotaph? Very disturbed, only fragmentary finds were recovered.

Imports: amber; textile fragment, reportedly dyed with Tyrian purple.

References: Николова 2008

Belogradets

Belogradets, Varna province
с. Белоградец

EIA mound cemetery. One particularly rich male grave of the 7th century was furnished with an iron sword with a gold scabbard, a series of corroded metal objects (spearhead, bronze vessel) and pottery.

Imports: ornaments in Mound 4 have parallels in the north Pontic steppes, traditionally considered Cimmerian territory (Стоянов 1992, 89 with references)

References: Toncheva 1980; Панайотов 1989, 12ff.

Belovo – Izvora

Belovo, Pazardzhik province
м. Извора, гр. Белово

EIA2–LIA settlement, located near a spring in the north Rhodope foothills, near Hebros River. Pits and deposits, containing pottery, animal bones, spindle-whorls, etc.

Imports: two pithos sherds with imported stamp patterns (Chankowski *et al.* 2005, 1235 fig. 5.5–6; see Nikov 2002); one fragment identified as subgeometric north Aegean pottery, reportedly similar to those from Koprivlen in the south Rhodope (Караджинов 2010 Tabl. 7.14); one late-5th – early 4th century RF *skyphos*; one 4th century RF *krater*.

References: Chankowski *et al.* 2005, 1231–37; Нехризов 2006b, 179–88

Belovo – Milchovets

200 m S of Izvora, Belovo, Pazardzhik province
м. Милчовец, гр. Белово

LIA (early Hellenistic) pits. 200 m south of Belovo – Izvora.

References: Chankowski *et al.* 2005, 1237–42; Нехризов & Гоцев 2006

Belovo – Malko Belovo Tomb

between Izvora and Milchovets localities, Belovo, Pazardzhik province
кв. Малко Белово, гр. Белово

LIA chamber tomb. Late 4th – early 3rd century. Circular chamber, containing a sarcophagus. Looted. A cavity was dug into the natural hill for the construction.

References: Велков 1942; Нехризов 2006b, 177–9

Bogdanovo

Bogdanovo, Sliven province
с. Богданово

EIA settlement. According to the pottery publication, contemporary with nearby tell **Dyadovo.**

References: Георгиева 1983

Borino

Borino, Smolyan proince, west Rhodope Mountains
с. Борино

LBA–EIA mound cemetery.

Imports: amber (Ivanova & Kuleff 2009)

References: Кисьов 2009b, 98–103

Branitsa

Branitsa, Haskovo province
с. Браница

EIA settlement: 9th–8th century. A mould testifies to bronze working.

References: (Аладжов & Балабанян 1984, 187 fig. 4; Gotzev 1997, 409).

Brezovo

Brezovo, Plovdiv province
с. Брезово

LIA cemetery. Some of the richest burials mounds, dating between the 5th and 3rd century.

Milchova Mogila
Remains of hearths; no burial.

Valchova Mogila
Large burial mound (3.2 m high, 24 m diameter). Cremation pyre (7x7 m, up to 1.20 m thick) at the centre of the mound, surrounded by many broken vessels (greyware, Attic, HM jars), and animal bones (cattle, sheep, pig, boar, dog).

Imports: Column *krater*, BG cups

References: Велков 1934, 1938; Reho 1990 Nos. 448–52

Chala

Chala Ridge, near Kralevo, Haskovo province
Рид Чала

EIA2–LIA. Two contemporary settlements positioned on the flat top of Chala Ridge. The first site, ***Chala***, comprised 3dca delineated by a rubble stone wall. Trial trenches uncovered two strata, 0.60m deep, corresponding to late EIA and early LIA. The nearby site of ***Kirklareli (Kralev Peak)*** covered 10 dca, surrounded by embankment and had analogous stratigraphy and finds.

Imports: BF amphora (?) fragment, c. 550–500 BC found at Chala (Божинова 2003, 69–70; cited in Караджинов 2010 Tabl. 7.8); Pithos fragment with imported stamp pattern found near the village (Аладжов 1980, 16; Nikov 2002).

References: Аладжов 1997, 120–2; Нехризов & Величков 1990, 180ff.; Нехризов 2005 Site No. 62–3

Charda

near Charda, Yambol province
10 km E of Kabyle
с. Чарда

LIA settlement (?). Imports date within the 4th century. 7 pits filled with plaster and domestic debris: HM and WM pottery, ashes, animal bones, shells. The animal bones were studied: cattle were most common, followed by ovicaprid, pig, horse, donkey, dog, chicken bones.

Imports: RF *skyphos*, unspecified BG vessels, amphorae – Herakleia Pontica, Mende, Thrasos.

References: Бакърджиев & Василева 2010

Chayka Bay

South of Cape Kolokita, Sozopol
залив Чайка

EIA settlement (?) (reported without any published dating material). Underwater survey on the south side of Kolokita peninsula found various finds, which have not been published nor verified by other scholars. According to the surveyor, Bozhidar Dimitrov there was pottery with identical decoration with the fortified sites along Medni rid (EIA), stone anchors, lead stocks, amphorae from the 5th–4th century BC, fragments from BG table ware, late antiquity and Medieval finds.

References: Dimitrov 1975, 16; Димитров 1973, 12; Домарадски & Карайотов 1976, 156

Chokoba (Bozadzhiiska Koriya)

near Chokoba, Yambol province
м. Бозаджийска кория, с. Чокоба

LIA settlement (c. 6th – first half of the 4th century). Two large mudbrick structures on stone foundations and multi-room plans. In the same area, there was an abundance of iron slag with remains of copper. A ‘circular feature’, and some pits date to the same period. The buildings were not tiled, apparently, but rooftile fragments were found in the pits. The function of the structures is unclear.

Imports: amphorae.

References: Лещаков 2010a, 130–1, 2011, 128

Chukarka

10 km E of Karnobat, Burgas province
с. Чукарка

Imports: Isolated find: bronze mirror handle, late 6th – early 5th century, attributed to an east Aegean workshop, on stylistic grounds. Female figure in *peplos*, carrying a dove; on her shoulders, symmetrically, two sphinxes; over her head, two lions attacking a ram.

References: Filow 1927; Стоянов 2010

Dalakova Mogila

near Topolchane, Sliven province
Далакова могила

LIA burial mound (c. 390–375 BC). Wooden chamber (2.40 x 2.45 m) containing an inhumed adult, buried alongside two horses, ample weaponry (two swords, 'tens' of arrows and spears), armour (helmet and chain mail), corroded bronze vessels, a silver goblet and two rhyta, two gold phialai, personal adornments, Attic pottery, and one gold 'mask' – probably a shield umbo with a human face. Apparently, the head and the hand of the deceased were severed from the body. The hand carried a signet ring portraying a bearded man, inscribed Σηυσα Τηρητος (*SEG* 58:699).

Imports: RF *lekythos*; 5 *lekanai*; 1 *hydria*; 3 Thasian amphorae.

References: Preliminary reports: Китов 2008a; Китов *et al.* 2008, 246–9; Петкова 2008 – Attic pottery

Dalboki

Dalboki, Stara Zagora province
с. Дълбоки

LIA grave (c. 450–400 BC) in a sarcophagus-like ashlar structure. Warrior equipment (cuirass, 2 iron spears), metal plate (bronze basin and *hydria*, 2 silver beakers and a silver mug), an iron candelabra, and a gold pectoral.According to Taylor, the cuirass is a heirloom.

Imports: amphora; 2 BG stemless cups; cuirass and metal vessels (?)

References: Филов 1930; Димитров 1950; Cuirass: Taylor 1985

Daskal Atanassovo

Daskal Atanassovo, Stara Zagora province
с. Даскал Атанасово

Grave or hoard? – stray finds near the village.

Imports: Three gold phialai without context – possibly from a hoard or a grave? – produced c. 600–550 BC. Certain scholars have argued the phialai are an Achaemenid import, but these vessels were popular across 5th century Greek sanctuaries, so they could also come from a west Aegean, or mainland Greek workshop following an Anatolian style.

References: Николов 1961; Стойчев 2008, 2009, 21–4; Стоянов *et al*. 2004, 167–74

Debelt (Kostadin Cheshma)

W end of Mandra Lake, Burgas Bay
Костадин Чешма, гр. Дебелт

EIA–LIA settlement (EIA – c. 350 BC). Kostadin Cheshma locality, near Debelt straddles a coulée, stretching 500m north-south, near the confluence of Sredetska river into Mandra Lake. The site is made up of over 200 pits, mostly containing domestic debris, with some that could be cult deposits. The site yielded an extraordinary amount of amphorae (3000+ toes), local and imported pottery, mill stones, spindle-whorls, coins, jewellery (glass beads, bronze bracelets, fibulae), etc.

Most publications consider the site a pit sanctuary, but the excavation records discuss it as a settlement, and give evidence to that effect (hearths, wattle-and-daub walls, plaster and mudbrick fragments).

Imports: 1000s of amphorae – Archaic E Greek, Herakleian, Thasian, and others; Archaic E Greek pottery – mostly cups; Attic BF, RF, BG – *kraters, skyphoi, kylikes, pyxides, lekythoi,* lamps; 84 *graffiti*, mostly on amphorae; 9 coins – Apollonia, Messambria, Kotys, Philip II;

References: Adams 2007; Amphorae: Balabanov 2011; Tzochev 2011b; Preliminary interpretations: Балабанов 1986a, 1999, Pre-Roman coins: 2005; Excavation reports: Дамянов *et al*. 1982, 1983; Дамянов & Балабанов 1984, 1985, 1986

Devetak

1.5 km S of Devetak, Burgas province
м. Мезара –м. Клюнчето, с. Деветак

EIA (8th – 7th century), LIA (4th century?) settlement / temporary occupation site. A single pit with EIA pottery, and more numerous LIA pits, filled with animal bones, daub, pottery fragments (incl. hand-made and greyware *krater*, jars, bowls).

Imports: Bessarabi-style bowl deposited in shallow pit – this northern style pottery is rare south of the Haimos Mountains (cf. Zheleznik nearby); Thasian amphora in the LIA pits;

References: Агре & Агре 2010

Devin

Potreba locality, N of Devin, Blagoevgrad province, west Rhodope Mountains
м. Потреба, гр. Девин

Mound cemetery, EIA.

Imports: amber (Ivanova & Kuleff 2009);

References: Кисьов 2009b, 107

Didymoteicho

Didymoteicho, Evros region, Greece
Διδυμότειχο

Two successive settlements (?) from EIA2 and the 5th–4th century on neighbouring hills by Hebros River. Excavations on the West Hill found fragments of plaster and hand-made pottery, dated to EIA2. On the East Hill (St Petra, identified with Roman Plotinopolis) the excavators found 'Thracian' grey ware and hand-made pottery (jars with relief bands and incisions) mixed with Attic imports and transport amphorae from the late 5th, 4th and 3rd century.

The size of the two sites and the relationship between them is unclear. The 1st millennium BC finds come from small trenches. According to Kotsoumanis (the excavator) and Bakalis who surveyed the region, the site was a mixed Thracian-Greek settlement. Their interpretation hinges on ethnic classification of the pottery.

Imports: Attic pottery – mostly RF and BG drinking cups (*skyphoi* and *kantharoi*). Amphorae from Thasos, Ainos, and Akanthos. Coins, including issues of Amadokos, Philip, Alexander III, Antiochos II, and later rulers. The largest group are bronzes of Kypsela, 20 km east of the Hebros.

References: Triandaphyllos & Bakalakis 1978, 245–7; Σκαρλατίδου 1985; Μπακιρτζής & Τριαντάφυλλος 1990; Skarlatidou 1993; Κουτσουμανής 2001

Dobrina

Dobrina, Varna province
с. Добрина

EIA cemetery. Inurned cremations in slab-lined graves.

Imports: Ionian *oinochoe*

References: Мирчев 1965; Hänsel 1974

Dolno Sahrane

Dolno Sahrane, Stara Zagora province, Kazanlak valley
с. Долно Сахране

4 mounds, a mix of male and female graves from the Bronze Age, through the Iron Age. EIA supine inhumations with variation in the position of their arms. In Mound 2 two individuals were accompanied by some small bronze adornments and a fibula dated to the 8th – 7th century (Stoyanov 1997, 120). Four further burials in Mound 3 are also assigned to the EIA, but their date and that of the amphora in Mound 1 seems uncertain. Stoyanov (1997, 120) highlights that the earliest fibula (8th–7th century) was found in the stratigraphically latest grave, No. 10 – then this fibula must have been an antique. The second latest burial, No. 9, contained a wheel-made vessel "similar in shape to the amphorae from Mound 1" (Гетов 1965, 218). These amphorae have been considered early imports (Ников 2005), but

their fabric appears similar to 4th century vessels from nearby Seuthopolis (Tzochev pers. comm.).

References: Гетов 1963, 1965; Boev 1972 – on the human remains, passim

Drama – Kayryaka

Drama, Yambol province
м. Кайряка, с. Драма

EIA–LIA pit site. The excavators consider it a sanctuary.

Imports: 11 pottery fragments from bird-bowls, table amphorae, and other small vessels. The sherds only show small parts of painted decoration. Some of the geometric patterns were in use over a long period, and can be dated between the 8th and the early 6th century (Geometric-early Archaic). Most of them were probably produced in the late 7th – first half of the 6th century. **Metal imports (?)**: lead vessel; a bronze needle, similar to one from the sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Thessaly, which Popov dates to the 9th– 8th century (Попов 2006a, 152–3).

References: Лихардус *et al*. 2001b, 141, 157; Echt 2002, 188–9; Попов 2006a, 152–3 – bronze needle parallels; Караджинов 2010, 158–60 fig. 1.1–10, 2012 – ceramic imports

Drama – tell Merdzhumekya

Drama, Yambol province
тел Мерджюмекя, с. Драма

EIA material at a prehistoric tell, including one chisel mould.

References: Лихардус *et al.* 2001a, 10, 2001b, 18

Duvanlii – Kaloyanovo

between Duvanlii, Kaloyanovo, and Chernozem, Plovdiv province
с. Дуванлии, Калояново, Чернозем

LIA mound cemetery (5th century – Roman period), containing some of the richest and best published graves of the 5th century, of both genders. The female graves are furnished with ample jewellery, the some male ones have military gear, both have plenty of imports and drinking equipment. Some of the deceased were placed in sarcophagus-like ashlar graves. Others – in wooden coffins. There appear to be inhumations, cremations, and partial inhumations. Several mounds (such as Nos. 16–17) contain simpler graves, equipped only with greyware pottery.

Imports: alabaster and metallic vessels; Attic BF, RF, BG; gold, glass, and amber jewellery;

References: Филов 1934; Kissyov 2005; Archibald 1998, 158–65 - English summary for Duvanlii

Dyadovo

Dyadovo, Sliven province
тел Дядово

EIA settlement on a BA settlement mound. The excavators found a thick, but very damaged layer from the EIA, covering a large part of the mound, and mostly its western part. The published pottery includes Fluted ware and stamped and incised ornaments (EIA1–2). According to the pottery publication, contemporary with nearby **Bogdanovo**.

References: Георгиева 1983

Elya Bay

S of Maslen Cape, Black Sea coast, Burgas province
залив Еля

Harbour (?) of uncertain date. Underwater excavations discovered lead stocks, stone anchors, and amphorae, mostly from the Roman period. Historians posit the existence of a harbour from 6th century, or even the Bronze Age, but no dating ceramics have been published. One Thasian amphora stamp is kept in Burgas Museum (No. 3130, unpublished and undated).

References: Димитров & Николов 1975, 308–12 Surveys: ; Димитров & Орачев 1982, 3; Орачев 1990; Finds: Лазаров 1975, 16–17

Eriklice (former Raklitsa)

Kırklareli province, Turkey
Eriklice / с. Раклица

LIA *tholos* chamber tomb, c. 350 BC.

References: Hasluck 1910, 1911; Theodossiev 2011a

Gabarevo

Gabarevo, Stara Zagora province
с. Габарево

EIA. Urn – from disturbed cremation grave?

References: Hänsel 1976, 199, 208, Taf. 69.5

Gara Zavet

Gabarevo, Stara Zagora province
с. Завет, общ. Сунгурларе, обл. Бургас

LIA settlement, 4th–3rd century. Cluster of pits filled with pottery, ashes, plaster, animal bones, one contained a kiln.

References: Гоцев 2001

Gela

Gela, Smolyan province, west Rhodope Mountains
с. Гела

LBA–EIA mound cemetery.

Imports: amber (Ivanova & Kuleff 2009)

References: Кисьов 2009b, 105–6

Glavan – Dolmen

Glavan, Stara Zagora province
с. Главан

EIA2, dolmen

References: Георгиева 1995

Glavan – Gradishteto

Glavan, Stara Zagora province
м. Градището, с. Главан

EIA, 9th – 8th century. Settlement (?) disturbed by later occupation.

References: Ников 1995

Glavan – Vanyovi Ormani

Glavan, Stara Zagora province
м. Ваньови ормани, с. Главан

EIA, 9th century. Inhumation grave in a chamber of large rough stone slabs, under a mound. Robbed in antiquity. The deceased was accompanied by iron objects (chisel and dagger?) and pottery.

References: Ников & Георгиева 2008

Gledachevo – Dvora

Gledachevo, Stara Zagora province
м. Двора, с. Гледачево

LIA: 1st half of the 5th – end of the 4th century (dated by imported pots and amphorae). 63 pits near a clay structure with an *eschara* found *in situ,* and a cluster of pottery, including two HM storage jars. The pits contained among other things, multiple millstones, loom-weights, a few imported pottery sherds. One pit contained a multi-layered clay altar.

Imports: west Aegean pottery sherds (late 7th – early 6th century) found in later pit fills (Караджинов 2010 Pl.7.3–7).

References: Тонкова & Георгиева 2006; Тонкова & Караилиев 2007

Gledachevo – Kumsala

Gledachevo, Stara Zagora province
м. Кумсала, с. Гледачево, общ. Раднево

LIA: 5th – 4th century. 100+ pits, Pit No. 9 – crouched female skeleton, c. 16 years old, with large stone on the back, interpreted as human sacrifice.

References: Tonkova 2003; Тонкова 2005, 68

Gluhite Kamani

near Malko Gradishte, East Rhodope Mountains
м. Глухите Камъни

EIA sanctuary. A series of rock-cut niches and rock platforms.

References: Нехризов & Цветкова 2012; Янкова *et al*. 2013

Golyamata Kosmatka

Shipka, Stara Zagora province, Kazanlak valley
Голямата Косматка, гр. Шипка

LIA chamber tomb, closing burial dates to the late 4th century. A 26 m long corridor leads to a rectangular antechamber with a horse sacrifice, followed by a *tholos* chamber, and a final chamber carved out of a monolithic block where the burial was laid on a stone bed. The grave contained a gold wreath, armour – greaves, helmet; weaponry; a drinking set, including two silver jugs and one gold *kylix*; and various other objects. The helmet and two jugs, were inscribed with Seuthes' name, which led the excavator to attribute the tomb and the statue to Seuthes III. An exquisite bronze statue head was found in front of the entrance of the corridor – it probably belonged to a statue, presumably, of Seuthes, from nearby Seuthopolis.

Imports: metalwork; the bronze statue head is the work of excellent craftsmanship;

References: vessel inscriptions: Manov 2006; shell box: Nankov 2011; bronze statue head: Saladino 2012

Halka Bunar

Gorno Belevo, Stara Zagora province
м. Халка Бунар

Early Hellenistic country estate. Several structures containing evidence of production, storage, and perhaps domestic cults (clay altars).

References: Тонкова 2002a, 2008a; 2011; Тонкова & Сидерис 2013

Helis

see **Sboryanovo**

Izvor

Izvor, Burgas Province
с. Извор

Two mound cemeteries –one S of the village, at Chala bair (c. 50 mounds), and one NE of the village (partly excavated by Karayotov in the 1970s but unpublished?).

Imports: A Phoenician(?) face-shaped glass bead, presumably from a disturbed grave was brought to Burgas Museum, and has since been lost (Burgas Museum inventory book; Младенова 1963b).

References: Делев 1990, 142; Шкорпил 1925; Шкорпил & Шкорпил 1891, 145

Kabyle

Kabyle, Yambol province
с. Кабиле

LIA town (c. 340s BC –). The earliest finds at Kabyle are from the late 4th century, which suggests it was one of the towns founded after the Macedonian conquest.

Hellenistic mound cemetery in the vicinity.

Imports: 100s amphorae, BG pottery.

References: Иванов 1982; Велков 1991; Попов 2002 – recent synthesis; Гетов & Рабаджиев 2004; Tzochev 2009, 64–8 – dating

Kaloyanovo

Kaloyanovo, Sliven province
с. Калояново

LIA chamber tomb with horse sacrifice.

References: Чичикова 1969

Kaloyanovo-Chernozem

See **Duvanlii – Kaloyanovo**

Kapitan Andreevo

Kapitan Andreevo, Haskovo province
с. Капитан Андреево

EIA1–2, LIA, Hellenistic pit site – settlement (?). Over 150 pits in a site 350 m across, near the banks of Maritsa River. Most of the pits were filled c. 1000–600 BC. The fill includes a wide range of vessels, animal bones with traces of cooking, coals, etc. The excavators recorded clusters of fired clay, which they interpreted as the remains of a rectangular building from the Hellenistic period.

Imports: (?) bronze needle with a spiral head, similar to a needle from Drama-Kayryaka and the sanctuary of Athena Itonia

in Thessaly; Popov dates it to c.900–700 BC; Chian transport amphora, c.450 BC; Maroneian coin, c.400–350 BC;

References: Попов 2006a; Попов *et al*. 2007; Попов & Грозданова 2008

Kara Bair

See **Varli Bryag**

Karnobat – Chatalevo

5.5 km SE of Karnobat, Burgas province
м. Чаталево, Карнобат

EIA/LIA transition burial mound, 6th – early 5th century. Three Iron Age graves were added to an existing Bronze Age barrow. Grave 15: supine inhumation with extended limbs and head to the east. Hand-made vessel with lug handles over the right shoulder, a bead and an amber fragment above the skull. Grave 15a: inurned cremation, in a hand-made storage jar, covered with a grey-ware *lekanis*. The urn contains several fragments of a skull. Grave 17: supine inhumation with extended limbs and head to the west. Iron knife and bronze needle near the ribs. Fragments of a grey-ware pot, and a bronze fibula near the feet might belong to another, disturbed. This is the latest grave, dated to the 6th – early 5th century.

Imports: amber; grey-ware table amphora, cup, and lekanis (same as **Gyaurska Mogila**, 2 km away).

References: Георгиева *et al*. 2008; Георгиева & Ников 2010, 149 fig. 10–12

Karnobat – Gyaurska Mogila

7 km E of Karnobat, Burgas province
Гяурска могила, гр. Карнобат

EIA/LIA transition burial mound, at least 8 burials, from the late 6thcentury onwards, added to an existing Bronze Age tumulus. The mound was heavily damaged by looters, who yielded to the police many artefacts without contextual data: 5 bronze vessels (incl. a *hydria, podanipter, oinochoe*); 2 iron daggers with silver scabbards; 2 bronze arrowheads; fragments of a sword and spearhead, and other iron objects; two bronze buttons, one of them gilded; and a set of black-glazed and red-figured drinking vessels.

Rescue excavations identified the following burials: Grave 1: disturbed; two bronze basins; two infant burials in the stone cairn above. Grave 2: secondary cremation in a grey-ware jug; Grave 3: urn (grey-ware jug), containing both cremated and non-cremated remains; Graves 4: supine inhumation, arms bent at the elbows, with hands on the chest or shoulders, head to the south. HM pot left of the head, and an iron fibula over the right shoulder; a bronze sowing needle right of the skull. Grave 5: supine inhumation, head to the south-west, disturbed, mixed with burnt bones and a bronze fibula; Grave 6: inurned cremation in a Milesian table amphora. According to the excavators, Gyaurska Mogila was used from the late 6th to the late 5th century. Grave 6 is earliest in the sequence, followed by Grave 4, the two infant burials, Graves 3 and 2. Traces of burning were found through the mound fill.

Imports: painted Milesian table amphora (late 7th – early 6th century, dated by P. Dupont); grey-ware: lekanis (same as **Chatalevo**, 2km away); 1 RF glaux *skyphos*, 1 RF jug with Thracian warriors; 12 BG vessels, mostly cups;

References: Pottery: Georgieva 2009; Георгиева 2011; Excavation report: Георгиева *et al*. 2006; Георгиева & Ников 2010, 149 fig. 6–9, 11, 13; Table IV.3

Karnobat – Trakia Motorway

Karnobat, Burgas province
гр. Карнобат

Two settlement sites and a series of pits discovered during the construction of Trakia Motorway. It is unclear if there was continuity between the two settlements, due to the limited excavation area. Their dates do not overlap.

Trakia Motorway 1 (between 6^{+400}-6^{+500} km): EIA settlement composed of several dwellings which yielded local pottery dated 10th – end of the 8th century.

Trakia Motorway 2 (between 6^{+700}-6^{+800} km): EIA–LIA transition settlement, imports date from the first half of the 6th to the late 5th century. Grey-ware pottery includes bowls,

dishes, *lekanai*, and *kraters*; fewer jugs and table amphorae; some rare shapes like *dinoi* and trefoil jugs.

Imports: Transport amphorae (Цочев 2009); Tableware: east Aegean painted pottery: Ionian band cups, table amphorae; BG drinking vessels (Георгиева & Ников 2010; Ников 2009).

References: Excavation report and material studies: Момчилов *et al*. 2009

Kasnakovo

Kasnakovo, Haskovo province
с. Каснаково

EIA settlement, 9th – 8th century. Two wattle-and-daub buildings with rectilinear plans, slightly dug into the ground. The limited material and thin strata lead the excavators to infer a short period of habitation around the EIA 1–2 transition. Disturbed by Roman-period sanctuary.

References: Попов 2010b

Kazanlak

Kazanlak city centre
гр. Казанлък

Early Hellenistic *tholos* chamber tomb. Late 4th – early 3rd century. The tomb is made of bricks. A narrow corridor leads to a *tholos* chamber with mural paintings. The lower frieze shows a feast scene, with attendants bringing things to a seated couple. The upper frieze depicts a chariot race.

References: Миков 1954; Огненова-Маринова 1991; Живкова 1974

Kermen

3km E of Kermen, Sliven province
гр. Кермен

EIA settlement, 9th – 8th century. Three buildings. Two are dwellings with hearths and storage facilities. These structures are surrounded by a wider halo of destroyed buildings, suggesting a larger settlement site.

References: Кънчева-Русева & Лещаков 2013

Kiten

Urdoviza Cape, Kiten, Black Sea coast
нос Урдовиза, гр. Китен

Settlement / temporary harbour from the late 6th century? Finds from a preserved stratigraphic sequence include arrow-coins, Archaic through Classical and Hellenistic pottery (incl. east Aegean painted tableware, glazed vessels, transport amphorae).

References: Панайотова *et al.* 2013b

Kochan-Satovcha

Kochan and Satovcha, Blagoevgrad province, west Rhodope
с. Кочан, с. Сатовча

EIA mound cemetery between the villages.

Imports: amber (Ivanova & Kuleff 2009);

References: Gergova 1989; Excavation reports: Гергова & Ангелова 1975; Гергова & Кулов 1977, 1979; Домарадски *et al*. 1990, 104; Кисьов 2009b, 110–13

Kom Peak

near Sivino, central Rhodope
вр. Ком

Settlement. EIA2–Roman period. .

References: Спиридонов *et al.* 1978; Георгиева 1980

Koprivlen

Koprivlen, Blagoevgrad province
м. Козлука, с. Копривлен

EIA–LIA settlement.

Imports: the locally-made pottery belongs to the traditions of the north Aegean littoral.

References: Bozkova & Delev 2002

Kozi Gramadi

Starosel, Plovdiv province
м. Кози Грамади

LIA (between c.400–325 BC, based on ceramic imports and coins). A series of structures, which the excavator interprets as ‘a royal residence and sanctuaries’. The short

period of use, the modest evidence for subsistence, and the lack of sacrificial deposits cast doubts upon these ideas. The upland location and the abundance of weapons make it far more plausible that the site was a hunting lodge, a country estate (Archibald 2013c, 147–8) or a fortified refuge.

Imports: 4–5 amphorae, BG cups and dishes.

References: Hristov 2011; 2012

Kralevo

NE Bulgaria, Targovishte province
с. Кралево

Early Hellenistic pit sanctuary? (c. 350 – c. 275 BC). 137 pits, 19 hearths and clay altars, some reaching unusually large sizes (1.80 x 1.90 m). Positioned beneath a burial mound from the mid-3rd century. The finds include pottery, animal bones, spindle-whorls, etc.

References: Гинев 2000

Krastevich – Pamuk Tepe

Krastevich, Plovdiv province
м. Памук Тепе, с. Кръстевич

LIA settlement, 5th century. Multi-storey structures with stone foundations, paved street, traces of metal-working.

Madzharov dates the settlement to the 5th-mid-4th century (Маджаров *et al.* 2009, 243). However, the (single) illustrated red-figure *krater* sherd and its cited Athenian parallels date to the late 5th century (Маджаров *et al.* 2012, 168 fig. 3; cf. Moore 1997 Nos. 323, 325, 402).

Imports: amphorae, a dozen coins, RF vessels, bath tub (?)

References: Маджаров *et al.* 2007b, 2011; Маджаров & Танчева 2008, 2009b; 2012

Krastevich – Sekiz Harman

Krastevich, Plovdiv province

м. Секиз Харман, с.Кръстевич

LIA temple (?), 4th –3rd (?) century. Located on a hill terrace (570 m), 1 km north-east of Pamuk Tepe. Rectilinear buildings with two construction phases, one with a colonnade. Numerous fragments of terracotta and stone decorations, incl. an Ionian capitel.

Imports: amphorae

References: Маджаров *et al*. 2007a, 2013; Маджаров & Танчева 2009a, 2010, 2014

Kumsala

See **Gledachevo**

Kush Kaya

4 km NW of Valche Pole, Haskovo province
м. Куш Кая, с. Вълче Поле

LBA–EIA settlement (13th/11th–7th century) located on a rocky outcrop. The site significantly expanded in EIA2 and was fortified. A series of structures of mudbrick and wattle and daub, located on terraced slopes. Most of them are interpreted as dwellings, and one – as a ceramic workshop.

References: Попов 2006b, 2009, ceramic production: Попов 2010a

Levski (Saadersi)

Saadersi locality, 3 km E of Vassil Levski, Plovdiv province
м. Саадерси, с. Васил Левски

LIA settlement (urban?). On the basis of the ceramic scatter, the territory of the settlement is estimated variously at 25, 1 and 3 hectares (Кисьов 1990, 41 '500 by 500m'; Кисьов *et al.* 1994, 106; Кисьов 2004, 51 '25-30 decares'). '*Emplekton*' stone wall with mudbrick superstructure; roof-tiled buildings.

Imports: Attic BF, BG;

References: Excavation reports: Кисьов 1990; 1991; 1992; Кисьов *et al*. 1994; Кисьов 2006; 2007; 2009; Summary and finds: Кисьов 2004, 51–67

Levunovo

near Ribnik, Blagoevgrad province
м. Скалата, с. Левуново

LBA–Hellenistic sanctuary (layers from LBA, EIA-5th century, Hellenistic). Located on a 248 metre-high hill between the villages of Levunovo and Ribnik, in the Strymon

valley. One of the most fully excavated sanctuaries in Thrace, revealing a plan with three levels of enclosure: a stone wall encircling the site, various rock-cut features (steps, platform), stone and clay altars, wooden shelters, pits for votive depositions and sacrifices. Domaradzki interprets it as an 'intertribal' sanctuary.

The 6 – 5th century stone altar has been compared to the Dorian sanctuary at Thasos (Domaradzki 1986; Гергова 1990, 23)

References: Domaradzki 1986, 97–103, 1994, 77–80 fig. 1, 9

Lobodovo Kale

Ravadinovo, Burgas province
Лободово Кале, с. Равадиново

A dry stone wall enclosure of about 0.15 ha near Lobodov Peak on Medni Rid / Copper Ridge. The site is among the putative EIA hillforts around Apollonia, but surveys did not report any dating finds. There are unexcavated stone mounds nearby.

References: Домарадски & Карайотов 1976; Делев *et al.* 1982; Домарадски *et al.* 1992

Lyaskovo

Bodotino locality, near Lyaskovo, central Rhodope
м. Бодотино, с. Лясково

LIA *tholos* chamber tomb, made of roughly worked stone slabs, with iron clamps.

References: Велков 1932, 417; Миков 1954, 19

Lyubcha - Bartseto

Bartseto locality, Lyubcha, Smolyan province, west Rhodope Mountains
м. Бърцето, с. Любча

EIA mound cemetery. 5 mounds excavated in 1976.

Imports: 70 amber beads (Baltic and other) (Ivanova & Kuleff 2009); Egyptian scarab, dating to c. 2000 BC (Бончева 2010) .

References: Мирчев 1977; Кисьов 1988

Lyubcha - Orfenskoto

Orfenskoto locality, Lyubcha, Smolyan province, west Rhodope Mountains
м. Орфенското /Авлии, с. Любча

LIA (6th – 4th century) mound cemetery (?). 30 mounds, 3 excavated in 2007. The mounds did not seem to contain preserved burials, but a series of stone circles, platforms, clay altars (*escharae*), and pits. One mound pile contained many loom-weights and mill-stones, which the excavators interpret as sacrificial offerings. It seems more likely that the soil was taken from a nearby settlement. The second mound had a krepis of well-shaped ashlar masonry (two courses preserved). The third was made of rubble stone without any finds.

Imports: fragment of BG kantharos.

References: Гергова *et al.* 2008

Malenovo

Malenovo, Yambol province
с. Маленово

EIA settlement (cluster of pits). Pottery dates to EIA2, archaeomagnetic dating of the kiln and C14 indicate 11th – 8th century. One pit reportedly contained an entire pottery kiln.

References: Божкова & Петрова 2010, 2011

Malko Tranovo

Malko Tranovo, Yambol province
с. Малко Тръново

EIA–LIA settlement? Over 500 pits and ditches. Most date between the second quarter of the 5th and the beginning of the 3rd century. The pits were filled with broken pottery, animal bones, ashes, burnt daub, etc.

According to the excavator, there is evidence of deliberate fragmentation and human sacrifice: e.g., Pit A in the Large Ditch contained the articulated upper body of a four year old human alongside a dog, whose skeleton was separated in three articulated parts; the same pit contained bones from a young calf and a young ovicaprid, and two BG *kylikes*, one apparently deliberately broken in two.

Imports: handle from Greek-type bronze *oinochoe*; glass *amphoriskos* from Rhodos (?); Attic RF, BG pottery; transport amphorae;

References: Тонкова & Лозанов 2004; Тонкова & Димитров 2005; Тонкова 2010

Malkoto Kale

Ravadinovo, Burgas province
Малкото Кале, с. Равадиново

EIA2, LIA, Hellenistic settlement. Three occupation phases: 9 th–6th(?) century; 5th–4th century; late 4th–2nd century. Abundant EIA pottery, few Classical, many Hellenistic finds. Fragmented floor surfaces help to identify multiple habitation levels in each phase. Wattle and daub buildings, sometimes dug into the ground to 0.20-0.30 m, sometimes on stone or mudbrick foundations. Fortification wall erected in the early Hellenistic period. Two groups of mounds and stone circles located SE and NW(??) of the settlement, dated to the Hellenistic period.

The site is interpreted as one of the hillforts, guarding the copper ores of Medni Rid.

Imports: amphorae, BG cups, RF *krater*

References: Домарадски & Карайотов 1976; Делев *et al.* 1982; Домарадски *et al.* 1992

Malomirovo – Zlatinitsa

Zlatinitsa, Haskovo province
с. Маломирово и с. Златиница

LIA grave, c. 350–325 BC. Located between the villages of Malomirovo and Zlatinitsa. Wood-lined chamber in a pit, under an earthen mound. The deceased, a young male (18–20 years old), was laid wearing a gold wreath, and a gold signet ring. They were buried along with weaponry (a *machaira*-type sword, 200 arrows, 7 spears); armour (a chain mail and Chalkidian type helmet, and gilded silver greave); and a drinking set (incl. two gilded silver *rhyta* with deer heads, four *phialai,* a bronze *situla,* and basin). Other finds include an alabaster flask and silver beads. The textiles and leather were unusually well-preserved, possibly due to the presence of salt, according to the conservator.

Two horses and a dog were sacrificed and laid near the grave pit. Further ceramic vessels were found at different heights in the mound fill, testifying to post-mortuary ceremonies.

Imports: Attic pottery, silk cloth, *alabastron*, metal vessels (?).

References: Agre 2011; Николова 2007a, 2007b

Manchova Mogila

Yassenovo, Stara Zagora province, Kazanlak valley
Манчова Могила, с. Ясеново

EIA2 (8th – 7th century). Mound covered 8 extended inhumation graves, accompanied by a few hand-made ceramic cups, bowls, knives, and occasionally fibulae.

References: Китов & Божинова 2005

Mandra Lake / Kantona

N shore of Mandra Lake, near Cherni Vrah, Burgas Bay
м. Кантона, Мандренско езеро

EIA settlement under the lake. LIA/early Hellenistic estate (350/325 – 3rd century).

References: Балабанов 1984, 1985; Гюзелев 2008; Coins: Карайотов 1975

Manole

Manole, Plovdiv province
тел Разкопаница, с. Маноле

EIA1 cremation grave. The ashes were placed in a biconical urn, covered by a smaller bowl. Located near tell Razkopanitsa which has some LBA–EIA deposits.

References: Hänsel 1976, 117, 177; Детев 1960 fig. 8

Meden Rudnik (former Kara Bair)

See **Varli Bryag**

Mezek (Mal Tepe)

Mezek, Haskovo province
м. Мал Тепе, с. Мезек

LIA/ early Hellenistic *tholos* tomb under mound, late 4th – early 3rd century. 2(+?) phases of use. Two cremations with female jewellery under the floor of the dromos. Charriot burial with La Tène chariot fittings in the corridor.

Imports: Thasian amphora

References: Филов 1937; Emilov & Megaw 2012 for the La Tène finds; Tzochev 2014 – the date and sequence of the burials

Naip

15 km W of Tekirdağ, Turkey, near the N Propontic shore
Naipköy

LIA chamber tomb, end of the 4th century. Stairs lead down to a rectangular chamber with a corbel vault. Unlike most other tombs, this one was beautifully preserved. It was furnished with a marble *kline* and a table, with carved fish plates and bowls on the table top. The finds include a Thasian amphora, a silver drinking set (5 *phialai*, a jug inscribed ΤΕΡΡΕΩ, a strainer and ladle, etc.); a bronze lekane, pitcher, and *patera*; military gear, and lighting equipment.

References: Delemen 2006, 2009

Nebet Tepe

see **Plovdiv**

Nova Nadezhda

Nova Nadezhda, Haskovo province
с. Нова Надежда

EIA1 (end of the 2nd millennium BC). EIA deposits (stratum c. 0.80 m thick, over 307 m^2) and pits on a Neolithic-Chalcolithic settlement mound, on the right bank of Maritsa River.

References: Бъчваров *et al*. 2014

Opalchenets

Opalchenets, Stara Zagora province
с. Опълченец

LIA burial mound. Inhumation in a wooden coffin, furnished with Attic pottery, metalwork, gold breast-plate and personal adornments

Imports: RF bell *krater* (Reho 1990, No. 447)

References: Дякович 1930

Ovcharovo

Ovcharovo, Haskovo province
с. Овчарово

EIA settlement. Located on a hill. Mudbrick dwellings, one with a hearth on an oval clay platform inside. One structure had a concentration of stamps for pottery decoration (ceramic workshop).

References: Балабанян 1986

Ostrusha

near Shipka, Kazanlak valley
Остpуша

LIA chamber tomb, mid-4th century. The tomb consists a 100 m^2 rectangular platform of ashlars, composed of six chambers – one round, and five rectilinear. The central chamber is carved out of a single block. Architectural details, painted scenes and portraits on the ceiling still survive, in vivid colour. According to the excavator, the monolithic chamber was erected first, and the rest were added later. At the time of discovery, only the foundations survived. Six stone *acroteria* with palmettes, found further south in the embankment indicate that the structure was once adorned. The monument was looted, except for a horse with silver appliques, sacrificed in the south-west chamber. A pile of broken pots (amphorae, pithoi, table vessels) and other unpublished objects marks a feast took place in front of the tomb (Chavdar Tzochev pers. comm.).

References: Китов 2003a, 23–5 with references; Valeva 2005 – the painted ceiling

Parvenets

Parvenets, Plovdiv province
с. Първенец

Early Hellenistic circular chamber tomb.

Near the village: grave stele, late 5th - early 4th century, naming Ἀντιφάνης son of Ἥρανδρος

References: Герасимова *et al.* 1993, 70–4 fig. 8–9

Pernik – fort Krakra

Pernik, Sofia province
Кракра, гр. Перник

LIA settlement. The remains are heavily disturbed by later occupation, but they still reveal that Pernik was among the earliest settlements in Thrace to use Aegean construction technologies such as ashlar masonry, mudbrick, and rooftiles. Because of the ashlar masonry and the fortifications, Pernik considered an urban centre.

References: Чангова 1981; Попов 2002, 135–41, 2008

Pesnopoy

Pesnopoy, Plovdiv province
с. Песнопой

LIA grave, c. 450–400 BC. Located 500 m SE of the village, on a terrace by Stryama River. The deceased were laid in a clay sarcophagus, decorated with Ionian *kymation*, of likely north Aegean provenance (see Ilieva 2009). The burial contained a helmet and fragmented spearheads, two bronze juglets, a black-palmette *lekythos*, and a BG *kylix*.

Imports: Sacrophagus, BG *kylix*, BF *lekythos*

Field survey found further 28 mounds in the area, which probably covered Iron Age graves, but have mostly been destroyed.

LIA settlements. Multiple ceramic scatters (likely settlements) are peppered around Pesnopoy, e.g. at Dingilova Moghila, Tsaneva Moghila, Manastira, and Pesnopoy Peaks.

References: Божинова & Гяурова 2010 – fielf survey; Ботушарова 1954 – sarcophagus grave; Ilieva 2009 – recent discussion

Pet Mogili

Novata Cheshma locality, near Pet Mogili, Sliven province
м. Новата Чешма, с. Пет Могили

LBA-EIA settlement, LIA settlement (c. 475-c. 350 BC). One dugout structure (dwelling ?), oval in shape, 4 x 4.5 m, 0.35 m deep, with a hearth. Several pits with domestic debris, plaster, personal ornaments.

Imports: 1 BF fragment, BG vessels, amphorae

References: Ников & Георгиева 2011, 141–2

Plovdiv - Dzhendem Tepe

Plovdiv city centre
Джендем тепе

EIA grave. Coarse urn, covered by another vessel, accompanied by a jug with a cut-out neck. Turn of the millennium?

References: Hänsel 1976, 195, 204, Taf. 28.20; Детев 1963b, 143, 149, обр. 1

Plovdiv - Nebet Tepe

Nebet Tepe (Hill), Plovdiv city centre
Небет тепе

Traces of EIA activity on Nebet Tepe have been variously interpreted as a hillfort, unfortified settlement, ruler's residence, and sanctuary. The deposits of EIA material are very disturbed and published in a way that makes robust interpretation difficult. The dating of the stone walls is similarly complicated.

Imports: a hoard of 18 arrow-coins; Nikov (2002) identified 7 fragments of pithoi with Aegean stamp ornaments, from the hill.

References: Ботушарова 1963; Детев 1963a; Пейков 1980; Domaradzki & Velkov 1982; Кисьов 1996; Gotzev 1997, 413–14; Попов 2002, 93–110

Plovdiv - Philipopolis

Plovdiv city centre
Филипопол

City, established by Philip II in the mid-4th century. Rescue excavations have revealed fragments of the ancient town.

References: Попов 2002, 93–110

Prilep

Prilep, Burgas province
с. Прилеп

Burial mound at the southern entrance of Rishki Pass, connecting south and north Bulgaria, covering an EIA burial and LIA tomb.

EIA grave, 6th century. The cremated remains of at least 13 individuals of different age were buried in a pit. The excavators propose several explanations, including likely death in violent conflict. The mound fill contains the remains of a large pyre (over 50 m^2) and a feast of animal bones and fragmented ceramic vessels. The pottery includes hand-made local vessels dated to the second half of the Early Iron Age, painted and monochrome grey wheel-made vessels of Archaic date. Georgieva and Nikov hypothesise the existence of a town nearby, which consumed the imported vessels and wine, and was placed in a strategic position with respect to Rishki pass, leading to the north.

Imports: grey-ware *kraters*, bowls, cups; Painted east Aegean pottery – mostly Aeolian, but also Ionian shapes; 1 polychrome Corinthian *aryballos*

LIA chamber tomb, c. 350 BC. Added to the same mound. Supine inhumation, with head to the east, accompanied by a sword, 2 spearheads, 3 greaves, and a drinking service: grey-ware amphora, *lekanis* and cup, a *lekythos*, two BG cups and a *kantharos*, a RF *krater*.

Imports: RF *krater*, BG drinking cups

References: Георгиева & Момчилов 2003 – EIA burial, 2007 4th c. tomb and *krater*; Nikov 1999, 37; Ников 2005, 335; Георгиева & Ников 2010, 142 – other vessels

Propadnalata Voda Mine

Rossen, Burgas province
рудник Пропадналата вода

Copper mine: shafts, tools, and Ionian pottery dating to c. 550–500 BC near modern mine in the northern part of Medni Rid; the open pit mine is 7-13 m wide and follows the hill slope.

Imports: Ionian pottery

References: Лещаков & Класнаков 2011

Pshenichevo

Pshenichevo, Stara Zagora province
с. Пшеничево

EIA2 open-type settlement with rectangular wattle and daub buildings. The site gives its name to the characteristic stamped pottery for the period.

References: Димитров 1968; Čičikova 1972; Чичикова 1979

Rassilitsa

near Gorna Arda, Smolyan province, Rhodope
м. Расилица, с. Горна Арда

EIA settlement. Six wattle and daub dwellings, partially dug into the bedrock, with hearths inside. Cf. similar structures at **Shumen**.

References: Спиридонов 1974, 1992, 12; 1999, 39–40, 50 note 14–15; Фол & Спиридонов 1983, 130 map 1

Ravna

Dobrina, Varna province
с. Равна

EIA cemetery. Inurned cremations in slab-lined graves.

References: Мирчев 1955; chronology: Hänsel 1974

Ravnogor

near Ravnogor, central Rhodope
с. Равногор

Mound cemetery of about 20 tumuli. Two LIA *tholos* chamber tombs (built in the late 4th – early 3rd century). Tomb 1 was built of sandstone slabs with worked faces and without mortar; Tomb 2 – with mud mortar. Both have among the largest known *tholos* chambers in Thrace (5.26–40 m, and 5.10–34 m diameter respectively).

References: Китов 1988, 1989

Rogozinovo

Rogozinovo, Haskovo Province
с. Рогозиново

EIA settlement on the left bank of Herbros River: 5–6 dwellings, spaced 30–50 m apart at sector Turskoto Grobe. Nearby, at sector Cheshmata, there were several small furnaces and iron slag. A possible sanctuary is located on a hill in sector Izvora, where excavations revealed a clay platform and deposits with figurines.

References: Stoyanov & Nikov 1997

Ruets (former Yurukler)

Ruets, Targovishte province, NE Bulgaria
с. Руец (бивше Юруклер)

LIA chamber tomb under mound, c. 450–400 BC. Rectangular chamber with pitched roof. Finds include bronze armour, helmet, horse gear, bronze, glass, and ceramic vessels, bone ornaments.

Imports: RF *hydria* (?), glass aryballos, bronze *situla*, *hydria*, basin (?).

References: Велков 1928, 37–50; Reho 1990 No. 71

Salmydessos

Kıyıköy, Turkey
Kıyıköy, former Midye / Medeia

Apoikia (?) 6th century-?, located on the confluence of two small rivers into the Black Sea, along the rocky south-east Pontic coastline. The site has never been excavated, but has been studied through surveys and ethnographic sources from the area. Multiple ancient authors mention the name, starting with Archilochos (fr. 79), continuing with Herodotos, Xenophon, etc.

References: Isaac 1986, 240; Sayar 1994, 131; Atasoy 2007, 1181; Гюзелев 2009, 179–81

Sarafovo

N district of Burgas, Black Sea coast
кв. Сарафово, Бургас

EIA and Hellenistic settlement (?) (reported without any published finds, except coins). Pit containing EIA pottery; Hellenistic settlement – reported by Karayotov.

References: Karayotov 1994, 131–3; Гюзелев 2009, 187

Sarnevets

Parnalova Moghila, Sarnevets, Stara Zagora province
Парналова могила, с. Сърневец

LIA grave, c. 425–400 BC. 1 km N of the village. Stone-built grave, containing an Attic pottery drinking set, a spearhead and a double-edged sword. Covered with a burial mound.

Imports: 1 RF *krater*, 1 RF *lekythos*, 1 BG 'Pheidias-shape' mug, 2 BG *kylikes*

References: Цончев 1940; Reho 1990 No. 445

Sboryanovo

Sveshtari, Razgrad province, NE Bulgaria
Сборяново, с. Свещари

Mound cemetery from EIA1 and the Hellenistic period. Located near putative EIA sanctuary Kamen Rid and Hellenistic city provisionally identified as Helis.

EIA cemetery: 24 individuals of different age, sex, and status; 20 were inhumed and 4 were cremated and buried in mounds with stone cairns, 10th–8th century.

References: Stoyanov 1997; Попов 2002, 156–64

Semercheto

Dositeevo, Haskovo province, Sakar Mountains
м. Семерчето, с. Доситеево

LBA–EIA (11th–9th century) site. Sanctuary, according to the excavator. Picturesque rocky hill with hearths, clay platforms, one LBA wattle and daub structure, and EIA pits. After a hiatus, activity on the hill resumes in the 4th century. The site provides a valuable stratigraphic sequence and ceramic material through the LBA-EIA transition. One contemporary EIA1 mound was excavated near the site. It revealed a concentration of slag, pottery fragments, animal bones (all young ovicaprids) and no burial evidence.

References: Бориславов 1999, 83–6, 93–8, 2001, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2011

Seuthopolis

Koprinka Dam, Kazanlak valley
Севтополис, яз. Копринка

Hellenistic city, identified as capital of Seuthes III. Full excavations in the mid-20th century revealed a planned rectilinear urban grid, including blocks of houses, a public market square, a royal palace, all encompassed by a fortification wall. Numerous burial mounds have been excavated in the vicinity.

Imports: amphorae; a wide range of ceramics

References: Dimitrov & Chichikova 1978; Димитров 1984a; Димитров & Пенчев 1984

Shihanov Briag

Harmanli, Haskovo province
м. Шиханов бряг, гр. Харманли

LIA settlement, with some EIA materials. 4 destroyed dugout structures. The best-preserved one was oval, measuring 14.5 x 7.30 m and was 1.10 m deep. The other two were smaller and shallow (2.70 x 2.10 m, 6.30 x 2.90 m, 0.30 m deep). 60 pits filled with domestic debris (plaster, animal bones, ashes, ceramic sherds, spindle-whorls, etc.), but also some 'cult' objects: fragments of escharae, personal adornments - presumably as votive offerings. 1 coin, Philip II. The pottery is predominantly grey-ware.

Imports: 1 fr Archaic pottery in a pit with LIA fill (unpublished; Караджинов 2010, 175)

References: Игнатов & Кънчева-Русева 2006, 2007

Shiloto

4 km inland, between Mandra Lake, Burgas Lake, and the Pontic coast, Burgas Bay
вр. Шилото

Sanctuary, late 3rd – 2nd century onwards. Located on a hill in the southern part of Burgas Bay. Many publications list Shiloto as a Thracian stronghold due to its strategic position and high visibility, but excavation results show the site served as a sanctuary in the Hellenistic and Roman period. Very damaged by 20th century military installations.

Imports: amphorae (Knidos, Rhodos)

References: excavations: Гюзелев *et al*. 2014; Кияшкина 2000

Shumen – Hissarlaka fort

3km W of Shumen
Хисарлъка

EIA settlement (12th – 6th century). The deposits were mixed with later material. Semi-dugout buildings (1m deep) with rectangular plan, rounded corners, stakes joined by wattle-and-daub. One central pole held up a gable roof. Hearths inside. Similar structures at **Rassilitsa**.

References: Антонова & Попов 1984

Simeonovgrad

LIA settlement. Roof tiles.

Graffiti: Arystokrat[es], AMA, D, MI, H, F.

Imports: Thasian amphorae, BG pottery.

References: Петров & Калоянов 1999

Simeonovgrad – Vanchovi Chuki

Vanchovi Chuki, near Simeonovgrad, Haskovo province
м. Ванчови чуки, гр. Симеоновград

EIA2 settlement (9th – 6th century). The finds (pottery, daub fragments, loom-weights, etc.) come from a series of pits.

LIA burial mounds. **Mound 1**: 5th century; following an *in situ* cremation; the remains of the deceased, along with an iron fibula, and a small gold plate were gathered in a red-figured *krater*, placed in the remains of the pyre. **Mound 2**: 4th century. The central burial was also *in situ* cremation, with a pyre over 2.5 m wide; a fragment of a silver applique was found in the pyre. Numerous greyware vessels were found in the mounds. Both mounds had secondary Byzantine—Medieval graves.

Imports: figured Attic *krater* (Василева 2008b); Thasian amphora (4th century).

References: Божкова 2008a

Sinemorets – Golata Niva

Golata Niva, near Sinemorets, Black Sea coast
м. Голата нива, с. Синеморец

Hellenistic 'Fortified residence' / 'tursis', early 3rd – early 1st century. Residential (?) building surrounded by a fortification wall, with a tower. Located on a height overlooking the Veleka River mouth and the Black Sea. A hoard of 199 silver coins minted between the mid-2nd and the early 1st century date the end of the site.

Imports: amphorae from Kos, Rhodos, Samos

References: Агре 2012, 2013; Агре & Дичев 2014; Coin hoard: Агре & Йорданов 2013

Sladkite Kladentsi

Pobeda District on the sea coast, Burgas
м. Сладките Кладенци, кв. Победа

LIA settlement and cemetery. The site consisted of a cemetery, and presumably a nearby settlement. The burials were inurned cremations in amphorae, imported and local vessels. Several clusters of amphorae have been interpreted as warehouses ('amphora depots'). They and the site's good waterway connectivity suggest it had a commercial function. The material culture was very mixed – hand-made local pottery alongside a wide range of imports. A hoard of 69 bronze Apollonian coins has also been reported from the area (Филов 1911, 283). The material culture was very mixed – hand-made local pottery alongside a wide range of imports.

Imports: many amphorae; Ionian cups, and Attic vessels (RF, BG) of a wide range of shapes: cups, bowls, jugs, *pelikai, kraters,* lamps, askoi, *lekythoi, lekanai,* other non-identifiable forms; cooking pots: 2 *chytrai* reused as urns; local fabric fish-plates;

References: Балабанов & Дражева 1985 – cemetery excavations; Лазаров 1971 – amphorae; Гюзелев 2009, 98–9, 189 – summary of finds; Reho 1990 Nos. 399–419 – Attic RF; Damyanov 2003 – discussion in English

Slavchova Mogila

Rozovo, Stara Zagora province, Kazanlak valley
Славчова Могила, с. Розово

LIA tomb, c. 350 BC.

References: Kitov 1995; Китов 1996, 2003b; Kitov 2007; Tzochev 2009, 59 for dating

Smilovene

near Koprivshtitsa, Sofia province
м. Смиловене

LIA tower. 'Fortified residence' / 'tursis', according to the excavator, built c. 350 BC (no dating materials have been published). Rectangular structure (approx. 27 x 15 m), with walls 3m thick, built with sandstone ashlar façades and rubble-stone filling, on granite foundations. There are a few stamped pot sherds from the EIA, and more extensive evidence of use during the LIA: hand-made and wheel-made pottery, animal bones, loom-weights and spindle-whorls, charcoal, plaster. Reused as sanctuary in the 2nd–4th century AD.

Considering the solid foundations (for high walls) and the strategic location overlooking the north-south pass, this structure is in all likelihood a defence tower, which might also have been inhabited and hosted various activities, including textile production.

Imports: black-glazed pottery, one stone inscription in Greek (?) – unpublished, mentioned in AOR for 2007.

References: Агре 2007, 2008; Агре & Дичев 2010a, 2011, 2012

Srem

Gradishte locality, Srem, Haskovo province, 500 m from River Tonzos
м. Градище, с. Срем

EIA settlement (9th – 8th century). A 4 dca surface scatter of pottery and plaster, one preserved hearth. Two building phases, very disturbed stratigraphy.

References: Дичев 2009

Stambolovo

Stambolovo, Haskovo province, E Rhodope Mountains
с. Стамболово

EIA1 (10th–9th century) burial mounds. Two mounds containing pithos burials, cremations and inhumations. 4 pithoi, containing three children and two adults. The deceased were accompanied by bronze and iron fibulae, an amber bead, glass beads, knives, spindle-whorls, and a whetstone.

Imports: amber bead, fibulae (?), the practice of pithos burial.

References: Нехризов 2009; Нехризов & Цветкова 2010

Stara Zagora

Stara Zagora, Stara Zagora province
Стара Загора

EIA grave. Supine inhumation under mound with a stone cairn, 10th – 9th century.

References: Николов *et al*. 1982

Starosel (former Staro Novo Selo)

A series of Late Iron Age burial mounds have been found near the village of Starosel. The mounds covered graves and tombs. Georgi Kitov, who excavated most of them, believed that chamber tombs functioned as temples prior to the ultimate funeral. Most of these monuments are only published in preliminary reports, leaving many details obscure.

Starosel – Chetinyova Mogila

Starosel, Plovdiv province
Четиньова Могила, с. Старосел

LIA tomb / temple, built c. 360–340 BC. A stairway leads to a monumental gateway, followed by a wide open vestibule, a rectangular antechamber with a corbel vault, and a *tholos* chamber, with 10 Doric-order semi-columns, and a frieze of metopes and triglyphs.

Imports: the structure is likely the work of Aegean-trained architects (see Tzochev 2011)

References: Kitov 2001; Tzochev 2011a (date and critical discussion); Китов 2008b; Китов & Димитрова 2001

Starosel – Mound Helvetia

Starosel, Plovdiv province
Могила Хелвеция, с. Старосел

LIA chamber tomb. Rectilinear plan, looted in antiquity. Two horses, sacrificed in the corridor and the antechamber, one of them with bronze appliques.

References: Китов 2003a, 18–21 with references

Starosel – Griffin Mound

Starosel, Plovdiv province
Могила Грифоните, с. Старосел

LIA chamber tomb. Ionian door-frame leads to a rectangular chamber. The tomb was looted, except for a few golden leaves, and fragments of bronze and silver.

References: Китов 2003a, 16–18 with references

Starosel – Mavrova Mogila

Starosel, Plovdiv province
Мавpова Могила, с. Старосел

LIA pit grave under mound. Allegedly two pits form one burial. Finds include a gold signet ring with a sphinx, a glass bead, and pottery (undescribed).

Imports: large glass bead with a face – 'Celtic'/Phoenician (?).

References: Китов & Димитрова 2001

Starosel – Mogila Horizont

Starosel, Plovdiv province
Могила Хоризонт, с. Старосел

LIA tomb under mound. Rectangular chamber with prostyle portico of six Doric columns along the front, and two along each side. Looted in antiquity. The excavators only found some gold fragments of armour decoration, silver beads, and 12 bronze arrowheads.

References: Китов & Димитрова 2003

Starosel – Peychova Mogila

Starosel, Plovdiv province
Пейчова Могила, с. Старосел

LIA tomb under mound, c. 370–360 BC (based on Attic pottery and amphorae (Tzochev pers. comm.); Tonkova (2013, 429) dates it to c. 350–325 "at the earliest", on the basis of similarity to the burial from Zlatinitsa, but pottery is generally very reliable dating material). The rich burial inventory has not been fully published, but contained a gold wreath, a signet ring with a wild boar hunt scene, three sets of silver horse ammunition, a sword, gilded protective armour, arrowheads, four silver vessels (incl. 1 hemispherical) and imported pottery.

Imports: 3 transport amphorae, 3 RF vessels; the metal objects could also be imports (?).

References: preliminary reports: Kitov 2003, 514–17 fig. 13; Китов & Димитрова 2001

Starosel – Roshava Mogila

Starosel, Plovdiv province
Рошава Могила, с. Старосел

LIA tomb under mound. Doric columns arranged in a distyle prostyle portico. Looted in antiquity. Excavations found fragment from a gold torque, gold rosette, grey ware pottery. Kitov expanded excavations in 1992. The finds are unpublished.

References: Велков 1925

Starosel – Shivacheva Mogila

Starosel, Plovdiv province
Шивачева Могила, с. Старосел

LIA cremation pyre under mound. Cenotaph, according to the excavators. The finds include a gold pectoral, a sword, fragments of armour, arrowheads, speareads and an iron horse bridle. Not fully published.

References: preliminary report: Китов & Димитрова 2009

Starosel – Shushmanets

Starosel, Plovdiv province
Шушманец, с. Старосел

LIA chamber tomb. An Ionian column stands at the front of a rectangular antechamber, which leads to the main, *tholos* chamber through an Ionian-style door. A central Doric column supports the dome, and seven Doric semi-columns with an architrave adorn the walls. Four horses and two dogs were sacrificed in the antechamber before the tomb was closed. Fragments of pottery, roof-tiles, and traces of burning point to feasting activities in front of the mound.

References: Китов 2003a, 21–3 with references

Stoil Voyvoda

Stoil Voyvoda, Sliven province
с. Стоил Войвода

EIA burial. Four male individuals were buried in pairs in the periphery of a small farmstead (?) site, 8th–6th century, in simple grave pits. There were no grave goods except for some traces of ochre.

References: Генов & Гоцев 2011

Strelcha (Zhaba Mogila)

near Strelcha, Pazardzhik province
Жаба Могила, гр. Стрелча

LIA tomb. A rectangular chamber with a false vault leads to a *tholos* chamber. The façade was richly decorated. The entrance was flanked by two felines in relief, fitted within a triangular frame with painted geometric borders. The door frame was styled with Ionian and Lesbian *cymae*. Further architectural elements were found fragmented, including *acroteria* with floral motifs. Looted.

A four-wheel chariot with two horses, and one other, separate horse, were buried nearby, alongside "9 large ceramic vessels". The animals were adorned with silver decorations.

The pottery displayed in Strelcha Museum, labelled from Zhaba Mogila, includes three grey-ware *kraters*, a one-handler, and two high-slung handle cups, all in grey-ware.

There were several other LIA structures at Zhaba Mogila. Albeit excavated over 40 years ago, they remain unpublished and the relations between the finds and buildings are uncertain.

Imports: fragments of RF pottery, alabaster, glass (?). The façade unites multiple 'foreign' elements: the feline reliefs and their composition resemble Anatolian monuments of the Achaemenid period (and a tomb by Daskyleion, cf. Karagöz 2007; citing Metzger 1963; Vassileva 2010, 39 points to Buildings F and H in Xanthos, in Lycia).

References: preliminary reports: Китов 1977a, 1977b, 1979, 1980

Stryama (Golyam Geran)

Golyam Geran locality, Stryama, Plovdiv province
м. Голям геран, с. Стряма

LIA settlement, registered through survey.

Imports: BF *hydria* c. 470 BC (Кисьов 2004, 38–9 pl. 35.3; cf. Moore & Philippides 1986 No. 592)

References: Кисьов 2004, 38–9

Svetitsa

Kran, Stara Zagora province, Kazanlak valley
Могила Светица, с. Крън

LIA burial under mound, c. 450–400 BC (based on the RF vessels). Sarcophagus grave. Allegedly, only the skull and the limbs of the deceased were deposited, accompanied by opulent grave goods, including weaponry (two swords, several spearheads, 144 arrow-heads), armour, drinking equipment (two transport amphorae, a silver cup, a bronze *hydria*, handles detached from vessels), one hand-made conical cup, two large RF jugs / mugs, one signet ring, and one a gold mask (weighing 673 g), showing a portrait of a bearded male.

Imports: 2 RF jugs, amphorae, *hydria*, ring (?).

References: Kitov 2005a, 2005b; Китов 2005a

Svetlen (former Ayazlar)

Svetlen, Targovishte province, NE Bulgaria
с. Светлен (бивше Аязлар)

LIA tomb under mound, built c. 425–400 BC (amphora date - Tzochev pers. comm.). Several bronze vessels, bronze armour, fragment of a shield, spearheads, iron knife, amphora. Similar to the tomb from Ruets, according to Velkov.

Imports: metal vessels.

References: Велков 1928, 50–3

Svilengrad

2 km SE of Svilengrad, Haskovo province
гр. Свиленград

EIA–LIA settlement and sanctuary? The site occupies a terrace, overlooking the Hebros River. It extends over 1.5 ha. In the excavated area of 0.2 ha, the excavators found 207 pits, dating from the EBA (9), EIA (133), LIA (52) and the Medieval period (13). Various finds – pottery, daub, ashes, spindle-whorls, loom-weights, animal bones, occasionally human bones.

Plant remains include barley, millet, wheat, lentils; weeds; deciduous trees (oak and elm, rare hornbeam and maple); a single grape pip was found in Pit 48, of the Late Iron Age.

The faunal assemblage is dominated by domesticated animals (small ruminants, bovines, pigs, dogs, birds and horses); some wild animals appear too – stags, deer, fallow deer, hares, wild boars, fish and mussels. The excavators note the common occurrence of young pigs and dogs, sometimes deposited whole.

The human bones belonged to 22 individuals, across 19 pits (9% of the total, 14 EIA, 3 LIA). All 6 which could be sexed, were male. 9 individuals were children, often newborn or premature.

References: English overview: Nehrizov & Tzvetkova 2012; Нехризов 2006c; Нехризов & Цветкова 2008; animal bones: Нинов 2006, 2008; botanical remains: Попова 2006, 2008; human remains: Русева 2008)

Taşlıcabayır

near Asilbeyli, Kırklareli province, Turkey
Taşlıcabayır

EIA1 burial, 9th century (date after Czyborra). Female (?) supine inhumation under a mound, accompanied by 2 spindle-whorls, a bronze bracelet, and 56 hand-made vessels (in the burial and in the mound fill). The majority of the pots were drinking cups and small jars. One vessel with multiple spouts stands out – it has been interpreted as a beer container, for drinking with straws.

References: Czyborra 2001; Özdoğan 1987

Taneva Mogila

near Topolchane, Sliven province
Танева могила

LIA burial mound (4th century). One grave in the periphery, high in the mound fill, was a cremation, deposited in a clay urn, covered with a bronze basin. The urn contained three bronze signet rings with different images, glass and clay beads, small clay figurines/tokens, and other, unspecified adornments.

The second grave is an inhumation under a stone cairn, high in the mound. Apparently, only the hips and legs of the deceased were found. The grave inventory included a bronze jug, 'fine and coarse' clay vessels: 5 bowls, jugs, a clay rhython, and two amphorae

Imports: two amphorae.

References: Preliminary reports: Китов 2008a; Китов *et al.* 2008, 249–50

Knyazhevo – Tatar Masha

Tatar Masha locality near Knyazhevo, Haskovo province
м. Татар маша, с. Княжево

LIA 'Fortified residence' / 'tursis', c. 350/325–250 BC, according to the excavator (dating based on coins and Greek pottery; more likely towards the mid-3rd century). Two-storey building, with several auxiliary structures, surrounded by a fortification wall and ditch. The buildings contained various installations and finds related to domestic economic activities: hearths, pits, a vertical loom, storage pottery, querns, as well as a clay altar (*eschara*) and "iron ore". The site was burnt in the mid-3rd century, and was preserved very well under an earthen mound.

Imports: amphorae, black-glaze pottery, coins - Philip II, Antiochos II Theos (note the absence of Alexander III coins, at least from the preliminary reports).

References: Агре 2012, 2013; Агре & Дичев 2014

Troyanovo

Burgas province
с. Трояново

EIA2–LIA settlement. Two dwellings from EIA2, destroyed by fire. The site is re-occupied in the LIA.

References: Господинов & Костова 2005

Tsarev brod (former Endzhe)

Tsarev brod, Varna province
с. Царев брод (бивше Енджe)

EIA mound cemetery. One of the richest EIA warrior graves is in Mound 2, burial 1,

equipped with a sword and spear, adornments, and pottery.

References: Попов 1932; Hänsel 1976, 173ff.; Gergova 1987, 61

Valchanovo Kale (Chenger Kale)

Primorsko, Burgas province
Вълчаново (Чengерско) Кале, гр. Приморско

A dry stone wall enclosure of 3 ha on the southernpost point of Medni Rid / Copper Ridge, by the Ropotamo River estuary. The site is among the putative EIA hillforts around Apollonia. The only published finds are two hand-made cups, dated to the EIA (Burgas Inv. Nos. 2644–5; Гюзелев 2009, 235).

References: Домарадски & Карайотов 1976; Делев *et al.* 1982; Домарадски *et al.* 1992

Varli Bryag Mine

5 km NW of Meden Rudnik district (former Kara Bair), Burgas
рудник Върли Бряг

EIA/LIA (?) mine. Three veins, exploited through open-shafts. The dating is uncertain: smong the slag heaps by the shafts, Davies found coarseware pottery, in his view dating to the EIA, and in Mikov's view, from the LIA. No images.

Imports: BG lamp accidental find (Балабанов 1983, 125; cited in Гюзелев 2009, 193)

References: Davies 1936; Черных 1978, 19

Vassil Levski

see **Levski**

Venets – Tonchova Mogila

Venets, 12 km W of Karnobat, Burgas province
Тончова могила, с. Венец

LIA burial, 5th century. Cremated remains placed in a wooden structure, under a stone cairn, added to an existing Bronze Age mound. Very disturbed. Rescue excavations recovered fragments of bronze vessels, a silver hoop, gold foil (from a breast plate?), four spool-like bronze objects; 64 arrow-heads, fragments of an iron knife, spearhead, and sword; fragments of BG vessels, a wooden object (furniture?).

Imports: bronze vessel fragments, including one jug with a gorgon handle applique; grey-ware jug with a high-slung handle; BG pottery;

References: Георгиева *et al*. 2008

Vishegrad – Harman Kaya

1.3km S/SE from Vishegrad, Kardzhali province, E Rhodope
м. Харман Кая, с. Вишеград

LBA-EIA hilltop settlement (?). The excavator recorded 7 layers of occupation, with 18 hut floor levels and hearths, dated to the LBA – EIA. The stone walls appear later than the EIA strata (Archibald 1998, 36).

Imports: 1 coin Maroneia

References: Дремсизова-Нелчинова 1984

Yankovo

Yankovo, Shumen province, NE Bulgaria
с. Янково

LIA chamber tombs, with horse sacrifices.

References: Дремсизова 1955

Yassa Tepe

near Kabile, Yambol province
м. Ясъ Тепе

EIA–LIA pottery on an EBA settlement mound. Disturbed deposits, possibly occupation site.

Imports: one 'proto-Thasian' amphora (c. 500–475 BC).

References: Гергова & Илиев 1982; Tzochev 2009, 68 n. 17

Yassenovo

Yassenovo, Kazanlak valley, Stara Zagora province
с. Ясеново

EIA–LIA transition (6th century). Ceramic scatter registered during survey. The project-leader notes the presence of masonry, fine serving vessels, pithoi, etc. in a small area, and interprets the site as 'an elite residence'. A second visit to the site found no evidence of architecture, suggesting the pottery (esp. the complete vessels) come from a grave (Tzochev pers. comm.).

Imports (?): two complete grey ware *kraters* and an amphora (Sobotková 2012, 336–7 Appendix fig. G 6.1-2). Forthcoming publication by Elena Bozhinova.

References: Sobotková 2012, 171, 370
TRAP Site 3126

Yurta

Zagortsi, Stara Zagora province
м. Юрта, с. Загорци

EIA2– LIA settlement (8th – 4th century) over a territory of c. 5 ha. 4 dwellings (of unspecified date) with a rectangular plan; post holes point to a wattle and daub construction, trampled floors, and hearths. Dwelling No.1 was 8 x 7.40 m; Dwelling No. 4 was 9 x 6 m. Two other structures probably fulfilled non-habitation functions. A series of pits filled with domestic debris, but also figurines and other objects related to cult activities. A double burial of two adult males in a large pit interpreted as possible sacrifice. The faunal remains include wild animals (deer, rabbit, hog) alongside domesticated species, cattle, ovicaprids, pig – which speaks for long-term settled life. The small finds show intensive and varied craft production: axe moulds, chisels, awls, textile production tools, etc.

Imports: BG vessels; 'abundant' amphorae;

References: Кънчева-Русева & Колева 2011

Zavoy

Zavoy, Yambol province
с. Завой

Grave: EIA–LIA transition. Supine inhumation, apparently the skull was missing, accompanied by "a part of a hand-made cup"; the grave pit cuts through a 7th-6th century building debris, dating the burial to the EIA–LIA transition. Unclear if the grave was intact.

Settlement: EIA–LIA (up to c. 350 BC). Settlement or temporary occupation site, consisting of large light structures near the banks of river Tonzos – could be storage facilities.

Imports: fragments from a bird-bowl dated to c. 630–590 BC and a rosette-bowl, c. 575–550 BC (Караджинов 2012, 28)

References: Бакърджиев 2010

Zhaba Mogila

see **Strelcha**

Zhelezino

Zhelezino, Haskovo province
с. Железино

EIA mound cemetery.

Imports: amber (Ivanova & Kuleff 2009)

Zheleznik

S of Zheleznik, Burgas province
м. Бахчата, с. Железник

EIA settlement (8th–6th century). Six structures of wattle and daub, and wood, two identified as dwellings, the rest – as agricultural buildings. One female burial (40–60 years old), crouched inhumation. The site is interpreted as a small short-lived settlement, or a farm.

Imports: Bessarabi-style pottery relates to traditions along the lower Danube, and is a rare finds south of the Haimos Mountains (cf. Devetak nearby).

References: Даскалов *et al.* 2010

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Rogozinovo
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Sboryanovo (Helis?)
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Zheleznik

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Kozi Gramadi
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Sinemorets – Golata Niva
Smilovene

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Batkun
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Propadnalata Voda
Varli Bryag Mine

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Elya Bay
Izvor
Sarafovo
Shiloto
Chukarka

APPENDIX 2. IMPORTED POTTERY

This appendix collates data on ceramic imports in Thrace, from published catalogues, commentary articles, maps, and excavation reports. It covers:

- Geometric and Archaic pottery, after Ivaylo Karadzhinov's catalogue (Караджинов 2010);
- Classical period black-glazed pottery, after Anelia Bozkova's overview articles (Божкова 1989, 2004, 2008b, 2010; Bozkova 2010);
- Classical period painted pottery, after Slava Vassileva's survey of 5th century figured pots (2013);
- Maria Reho's catalogue (1990) of 5th and 4th century figured pottery;
- Classical period painted and black-glazed pottery from Vetren, after Zosia Archibald's publications (1996, 2013b);
- Transport amphorae from Heracleia Pontica (mostly 4th century). This dataset contains sites mentioned in previous distribution maps of Heraclean amphorae (Брашински 1970; Bozkova 1994; Балабанов 2013), appended with finds mentioned in excavation reports over the past years.

I tabulated the catalogue data, so they could be compared, where possible, and I produced some descriptive statistics. The leading concerns were the relative scale of import and the extent of ceramic distribution in each period, and the range of shapes.

Some of the limitations of these data are that they cover only the Bulgarian part of Thrace; they are heavily biased towards burials; the 4th century data (Reho's) are out of date and the black glaze data are largely unpublished and low in resolution. Nevertheless, the information here gives a sense of the major trends and allows a preliminary exploration of Thracian taste for Attic pottery.

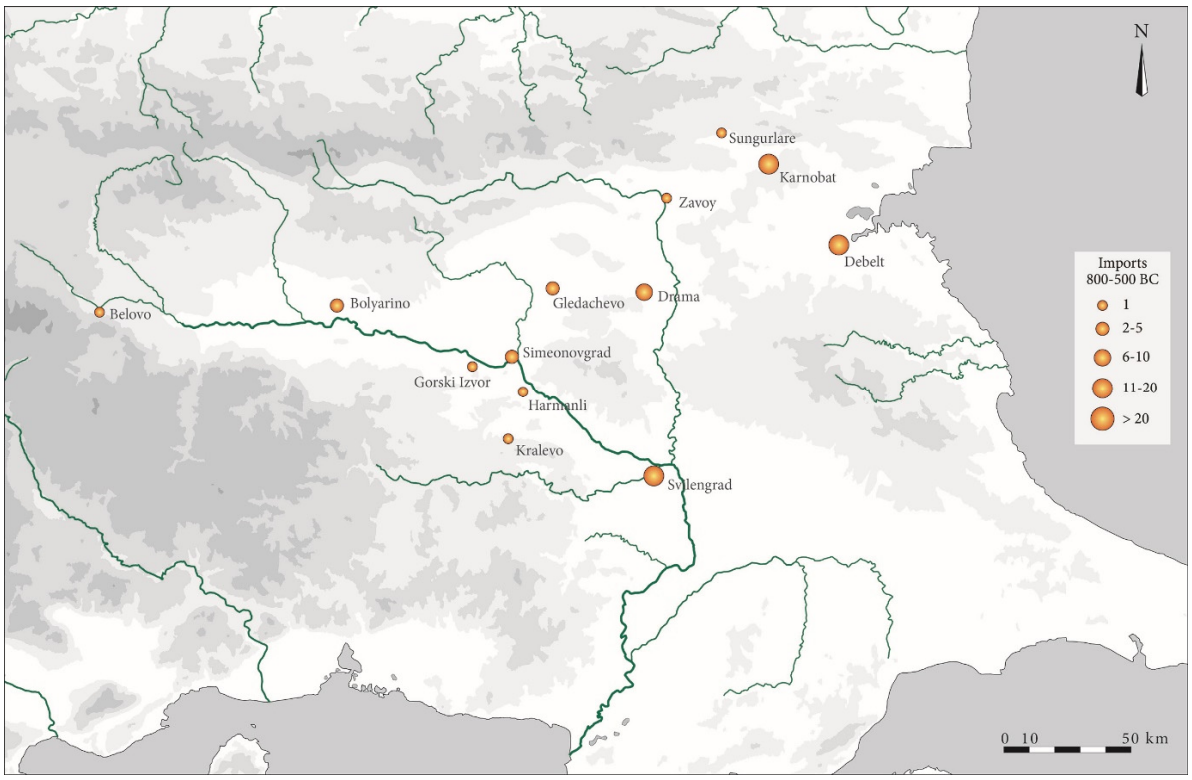


Figure A.1. Geometric and Archaic pottery in Thrace (data from Караджинов 2010)

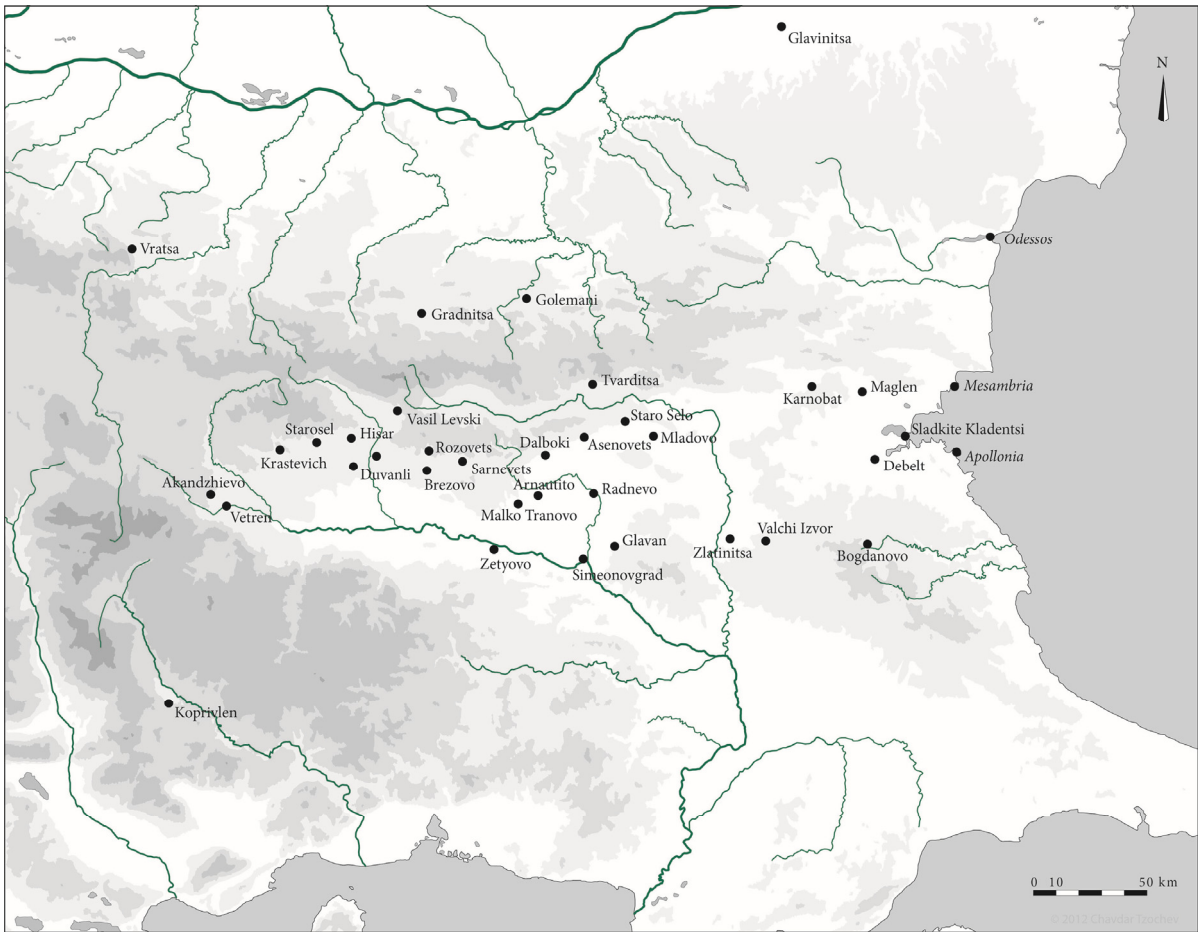


Figure A.2. Classical-period black-glazed pottery in Thrace (after Bozkova 2010, 487 fig. 1)

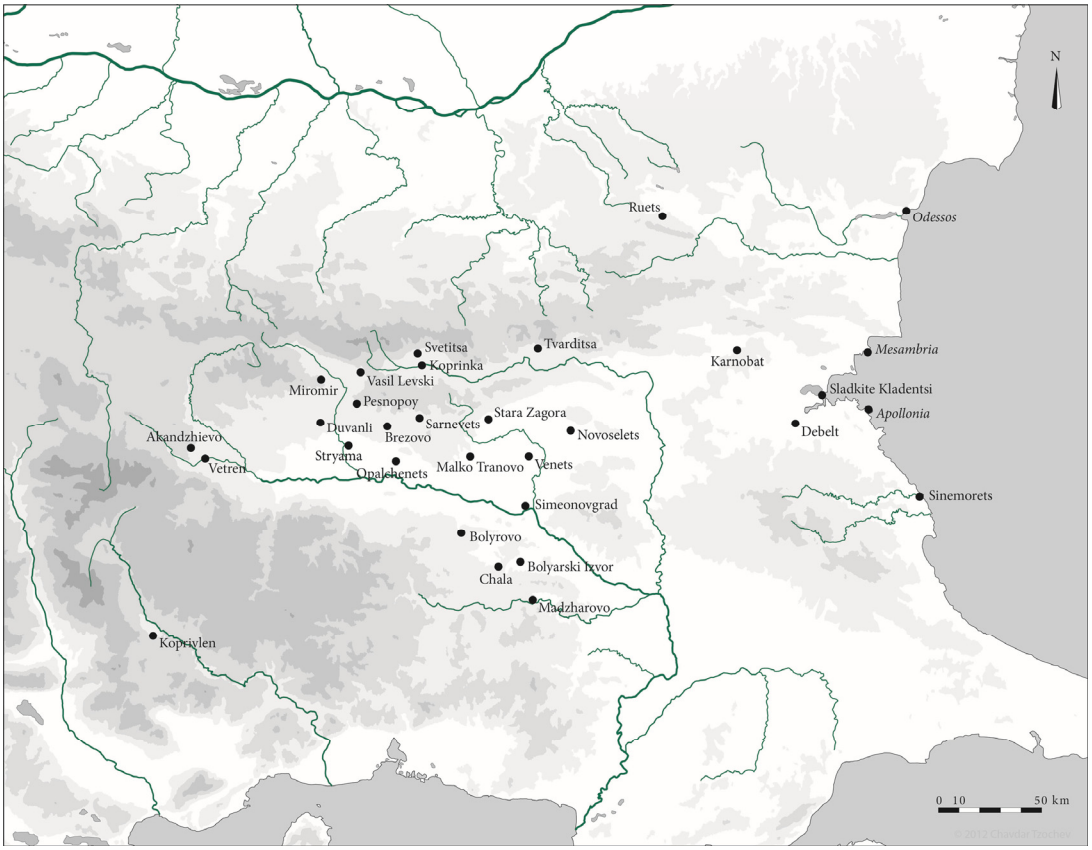


Figure A.3. Figured pottery in Thrace, 5th century (after Reho 1990 and Vassileva 2013)

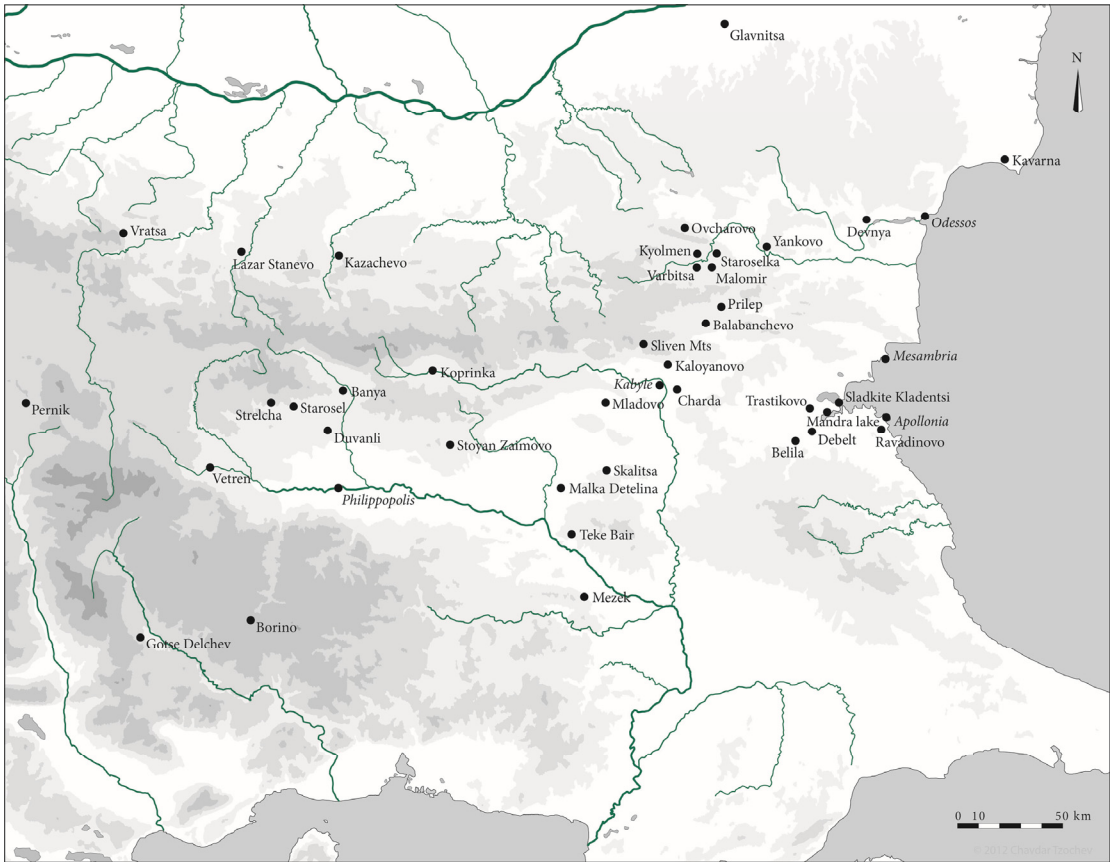


Figure A.4. Figured pottery in Thrace, 4th century (after Reho 1990 and Vassileva 2013)

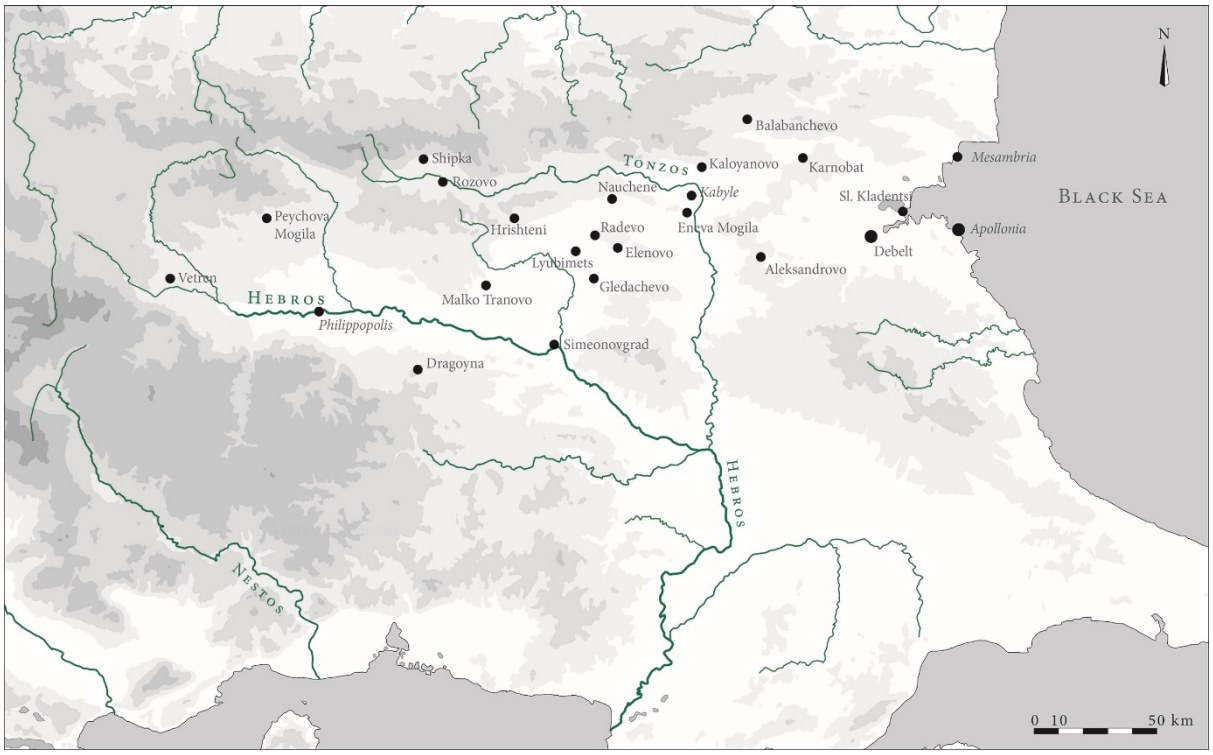


Figure A.5. Amphorae from Heraclea Pontica in Thrace (after data from Chavdar Tzochev)

* This is a minimalist map, showing published amphorae from major sites (e.g. Kabyle, Debelt, Vetren, Sladkite Kladentsi) and unpublished finds studied and verified by Chavdar Tzochev. A longer list of Herakleian findspots can be compiled following several synthetic publications (Брашински 1970; Bozkova 1994; Балабанов 2013) and many preliminary AOR reports, but many of the finds these authors report have not been published or verified

Table 8. Geometric and Archaic pottery imports in Thrace (data tabulated after Караджинов 2010)

Site	Fragment	Shape	Decoration	Date	Provenance	Image in Караджинов 2010	Context
Drama-Kayryaka pit site	body	closed	lines - Bird Bowl workshops?	c. 750-550 BC	N Ionia (Klazomenai/ Teos?)	Fig. 1.1	inside a stone ring
	body	closed	line	late 7 - early 6 c.	N Ionia	Fig. 1.2	areal TG2-D08, layer 3, sq. 06
	body		line	late 7 - early 6 c.	N Ionia	Fig. 1.3	areal TG2-D08, from the fill of Roman grave 30
	body	closed	line		N Ionia (Old Smyrna?)	Fig. 1.4	areal TG2-D08, layer 3, sq. 57
	body	open	Wild Goat style?	c. 650-550 BC	E Aegean	Fig. 1.5	Areal D08
	handle	T amphora?		c. 650-600 BC	Chios?	Fig. 1.6	areal TG2-B10, pit 008, layer 3/5?,next to dog skeleton w/Pshenichevo fragments
	body	amphora?	concentric circles	Proto-Late Geometric	Attica?	Fig. 1.7	in soil around stone enclosure - structure B
	body	amphora?	concentric circles	Proto-Late Geometric	Attica?	Fig. 1.8	soil over structure B
	body		webbing	Late Geometric	Aegean	Fig. 1.9	LIA pit 105
	body	amphora?	webbing	Late-Sub Geometric		Fig. 1.10	LIA pit 106
Svilengrad-Brantiite pit site	body	skyphos	semi-pendent circle			Fig. 2.1-2	N sector, cont. 5
	body	lekane?		Late Geometric		Fig. 2.3-4	sq. K42, spit 2, cont. 01
	body + handle	T amphora?	concentric circles	Subgeometric		Fig. 2.5-6	sq. 51, spit 2
	body			Archaic		Fig. 2.7-8	LIA pit 78-1
	body			Archaic	N Aegean	Fig. 2.9-10	sq. D40 spit 15
	lip/base	lip	pattern	Archaic		Fig. 2.11-12	pit 202
	body + handle base		concentric circles	Archaic		Fig. 2.13-14	sq. J29, pit 194
	body			Archaic		Fig. 2.15	sq. J39, pit 112
	body			Archaic	N Aegean	Fig. 2.16	
	body			Archaic	E Aegean	Fig. 2.17	LIA pit 13
	body			Archaic	E Aegean	Fig. 2.18	layers over LIA pit 20
	body			Archaic	E Aegean	Fig. 2.19	layers over LIA pit 21
	body			Archaic	N Aegean	Fig. 2.20	W sector
	handle			Archaic	E Aegean	Fig. 2.21	
	body			Subgeometric	N Aegean	Fig. 2.22	LIA pit 38
	body			Archaic	E Aegean	Fig. 2.23	LIA pit 6
	body	T amphora?		Archaic		n/a	LIA pit 80
Chavdarova Cheshma pit site, EIA1-2	body + handle base	oinochoe?		Subgeometric		Pl. 7.1	
Vanchovi Chuki pit site, EIA2	body			G2-3 (t8-7c)/ Orientalising (2h7c-1h6c) ?	Ionia / Eolia	Pl. 7.2	pit 3
Gledachevo - Dvora pit site, Classical	body (max d)	oinochoe?	meander hooks - Middle II/Late Wild Goat style	625-575	E Aegean	Pl. 7.3	
	body (max d)	oinochoe?	meander hooks - Middle II/Late Wild Goat style	625-575	E Aegean	Pl. 7.4	
	lip		Banded ware?			Pl. 7.5	
	body		horisontal band			Pl. 7.6	
	body (max d)	closed				Pl. 7.7	
Chala settlement, EIA2-b.LIA	lower body/base?	amphora?	BF	2h6c	Attica	Pl. 7.8	
Gorski Izvod - Trite Chuki mound cemetery (l.5-e.4c.)	complete	krater	Waveline ware ?, Red-Glaze kraters ?	2h7c-e6c	E Aegean	Pl. 7.9	destroyed cremation grave in the W periphery of Mound 2, found w/2 grey monochrome WM vessels
Bolyarino-Patarnika pit site (5-4c.)	body - top part and neck			7-6c	N Aegean	Pl. 7.10	pit 3, depth 70-80 cm
	body-top part	closed		7-6c	N Aegean	Pl. 7.11	pit 3, depth 70-80 cm
	body-top part	open		7-6c	N Aegean	Pl. 7.12	pit 3, depth 70-80 cm
	body-top part	closed		7-6c	N Aegean	Pl. 7.13	pit 3, depth 70-80 cm
Belovo - Izvora pit site (EIA2-mid-4c)	body		concentric circles - subgeom N Aegean	Subgeometric	N Aegean	Pl. 7.14	surface; near pits from EIA2 - 6c.
Sungurlare	body		stamped rombs	Late Archaic	Chios	Pl. 7.15-16	
Shihanov Bryag pit site, EIA-5-4c						n/a	pit in N part of the site
Zavoy settlement?				EIA		Бакърджиев 2010, 151; fig.3	

Table 9. 5th century figured pottery shapes (summarised after Vassileva 2013)

Shape	Burials (N vessels)		Settlement & pit sites (N vessels)	
Amphora	2	6%	3	9%
Askos			1	3%
Hydria	4	12%		
Krater	9	27%	12	36%
Lekythos	7	21%	4	12%
Oinochoe	4	12%	2	6%
Pelike	2	6%		
Cups	5	15%	9	29%
Kylike			1	3%
skyphos	1	3%	5	15%
cup skyphos	2	6%	1	3%
kantharos	2	6%	1	3%
Mug			1	3%
Total	33		31	

* Excludes 1 vessel with undetermined shape and 3 surface finds (Bolyarski Izvor, Madzharovo, Sinemorets)

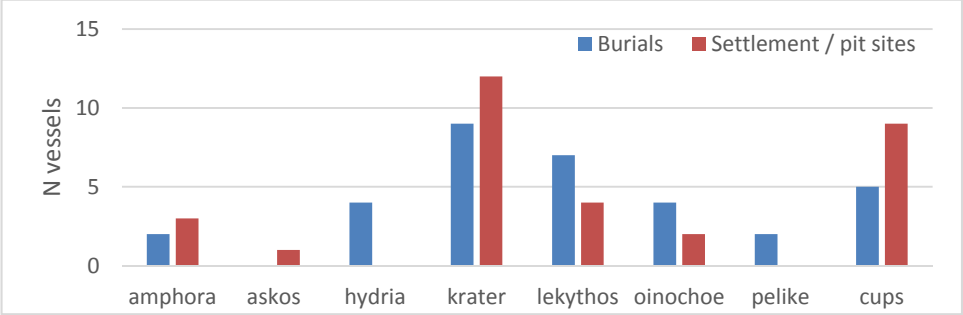


Figure A.6. Figured pottery (5th century shapes) in Thrace – shapes in burials and settlements

Table 10. Figured pottery in Thrace (5th–4th century (original data from Reho 1990 Table 2)

	FORM	krater		skyphos		cup		amphora		oinochoe		pelike	hydria	lekythos		askos	lekanis
	SITE	column	calyx	bell	Attic A	Corinthian	R/ure	h-determi	"standard"	"nolan"	III	VIII/B			'shoulder'	"squat"	
Pontic area	Kavarna																1
	Devnya			1													
	Ruets												1				
	Ovcharovo														1		
	Kyolmen														3		
	Staroselka														3		
	Varbitsa														1		
	Malomir														1		
	Yankovo														2		
	Balabanchevo			1													
	Burgas		1	52	7	1		1			1	1	1	2	4	1	1
	Madrensko ezero			1	2										1		
	Trastikovo														1		
	Debelt			13	49										5	1	
	Belila														1		
	Ravadinovo			1													
	Sinemorets	1		1													
Tonzos and Hebros rivers	Kabile			1	1										2		
	Mladovo			1													
	Kaloyanovo				3								1				1
	Sliven mountains														1		
	Koprinka				1									1	2		
	Mezek			2													
	Bolyarski izvor	1															
	Bolyarovo	1															
	Teke Bair																
	Simeonovgrad			9	16										1		
	Malka Detelina			1													
	Skalica				1												
	Novoselets			1													
	Venets				1												
	Stoyan Zaimovo				1										1		
	Sarnevets			1											1		
	Opalchenets			1													
	Brezovo	1?					1			1			1				
	Pesnopoy													1			
	Duvanlii						1		1				1	2			
	Plovdiv														2		
	Akandzhievo													2	1		
	Vetren			1	2												
	Banya				1												
	Strelcha				1								1		2		
Nestos, Strymon, Danube river	Gotse Delchev														1		
	Borino				1												
	Pernik				4			1							1		
	Vratsa				1												
	Lazar Stanevo			1													
	Kazachevo				1										1		
	Glavnitsa														1		

Table 11. Black- and Red-figured vessel shapes (summarised after Reho 1990 Table 1 and 2)

	Krater	Cup / kylix	Skyphos	Amphora	Oinochoe	Pitcher	Olpe	Pelike	Hydria	Lekythos	Askos	Guttus	Alabastron	Lekane	Pyxis	Dish	Sum	Range
Pontic apoikiai	49	45	39	4	36	1	1	13	1	196	7	6	2	11	4	1	416	16
Pontic area	72	1	59		2			1	1	25	2			2			165	9
Nestos, Strymon, Danube	1	1	7							4							13	4
Tonzos and Hebros	20	2	28	2				4	3	19				1			79	8
TOTAL	142	49	133	6	38	1	1	18	5	244	9	6	2	14	4	1	673	

Table 12. Black- and Red-figured vessel shapes at Adzhiiska Vodenitsa (data from Archibald 1996, 2013b)

	Krater	Cup / kylix	Skyphos	Amphora	Oinochoe	Pitcher	Olpe	Pelike	Hydria	Lekythos	Askos	Guttus	Alabastron	Lekane	Pyxis	Dish	Sum	Range
Adzhiiska Vodenitsa	71		44	1	n/a			6		2	5	n/a		5	n/a		134	10

* As per Archibald's clarification, the figure for *kraters*, *skyphoi*, and *pelikai*, represents rim fragments; for *lekanai* – lids; amphorae, *lekythoi*, and *askoi* are identified only by neck or body sherds.

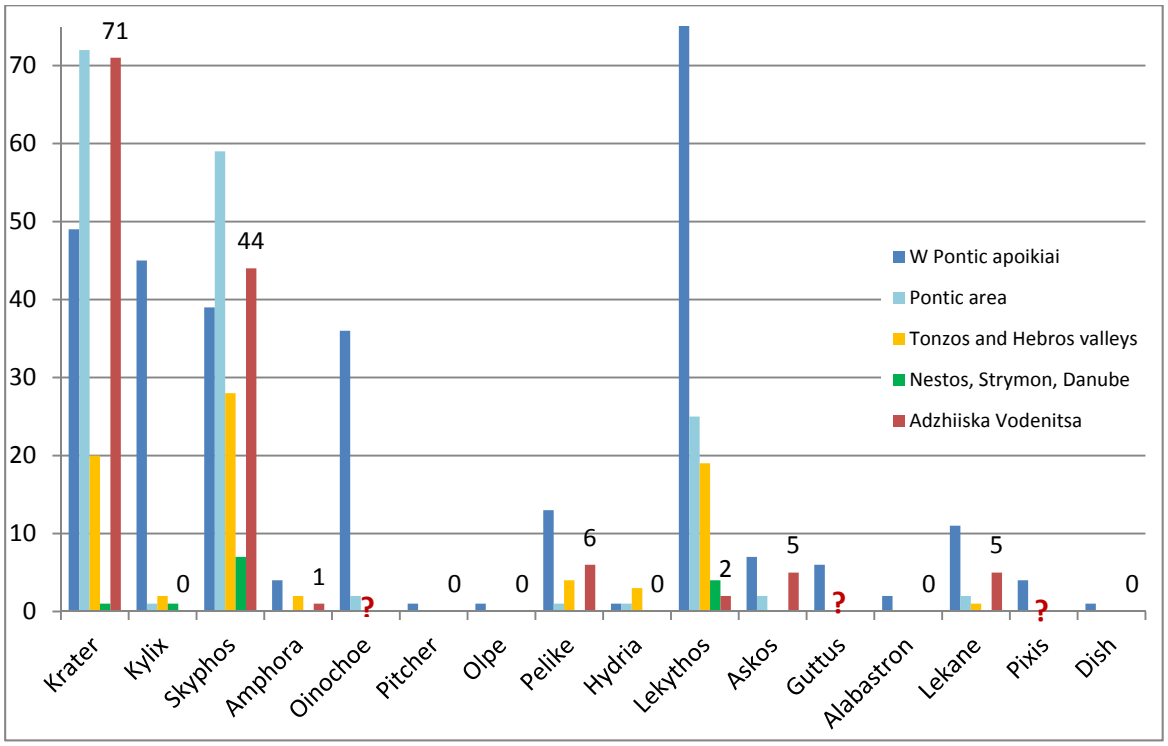


Figure A.7. Frequency of figured shapes in Thrace (5th–4th century)

APPENDIX 3. COIN HOARDS

Table 13. Coin hoards summary

Period	Apollonia	Chersonese	Parion	Maroneia	Abdera	Kyzikos	Mesambria	Satyr & Nymph	Thasos	Athens	Philip II	Alexander III	Other	**N hoards**
600-500 BC	2					1			1				1	4
500-400 BC	4		4		2	3		8	4	2			5	21
400-350 BC	3	2	1	3	1	2		1	1	1	1		1	11
350-300 BC	2	9	7	3	1	1	1	2			16	4	4	28
330-300 BC	16	14	17	2	3	1	4	2	1		28	30	6	57
300-200 BC	1									2	3	10	6	11
date n/a	6	2	2	3	3	3	2			1				10
Total N hoards	**34**	**27**	**31**	**11**	**10**	**11**	**7**	**13**	**7**	**6**	**48**	**44**	**23**	**142***
*The total number of hoards (142) is smaller then the sum of the numbers in the bottom row, because most hoards contain morethan one mint														

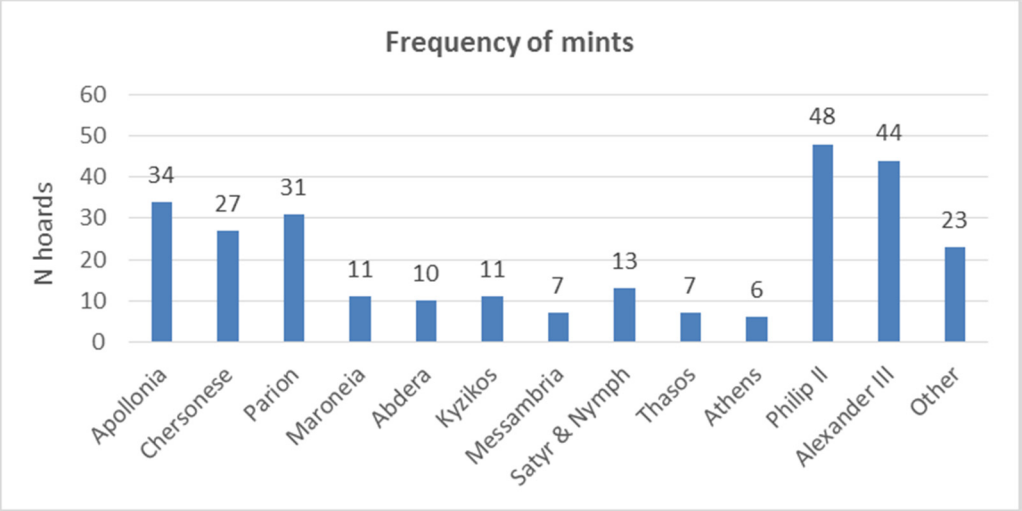


Figure A.8. Frequency of mints c. 600–200 BC

Table 14. Coin hoards in Thrace, c. 600–200 BC

N	Site	Apollonia Pontica	Chersonese	Parion	Maroneia	Abdera	Kyzikos	Messambria	Satyr & Nymph	Thasos	Athens	Philip II	Alexander III	Other	Number	Material	Find type	Date Category	References
1	Akandzhievo area	1		1					4	9					15	silver	hoard	500-450 BC	CH 6.7
2	Alexandrovo (Kz)											n/a	n/a		c.100	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 782
3	Alexandrovo (Kz)											10			c.10	bronze	hoard	350-300 BC	Герасимов 1946, 243
4	Antimovo	200					7								7	electrum	hoard	n/a	Герасимов 1942
5	Asparuhovo	100													c.100	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 766
6	Assenovgrad	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a										silver	hoard	n/a	Tacchella 1898, 215
7	Atiya - NE	2000													2000	bronze	hoard	500-450 BC	Пандалеев 1928; Герасимов 1939, 424–5; Димитров 1975; Балабанов 1986b
8	Aytos	15													15	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 765
9	Banya	n/a														bronze	hoard?	300-200 BC	IGCH 880
10	Belovo								n/a						n/a	silver	hoard	500-400 BC	IGCH 711
11	Benkovski								61+						61+	silver	hoard	500-400 BC	IGCH 702
12	Bezhanovo											16			16+	bronze	hoard	350-300 BC	CH 7.41 (misspelled 'Belyanovo)
13	Blagun												31	4 Philip. III, 3 Lysimahos	38	silver	hoard	300-200 BC	IGCH 849
14	Bolyarovo						2								2	electrum	hoard?	500-400 BC	Герасимов 1942
15	Borimechkovo											2			2+	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	IGCH 824
16	Borovets											1	10	2 Lysimachos	13	silver	hoard	300-200 BC	CH 9.143=IGCH 855
17	Boshulya		8						1			6			c.40	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	Юрукова 1982, 62
18	Botevgrad		5									1			6	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	CH 8.136
19	Bratanova cave											5	3		8+	bronze	hoard?	330-300 BC	Юрукова 1981, 127
20	Bratsigovo		14	16	2										32+	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	Юрукова 1985, 58
21	Byrsine												40	1	41	silver	hoard	300-200 BC	CH 9.144 = IGCH 850

N	Site	Apollonia Pontica	Chersonese	Parion	Maroneia	Abdera	Kyzikos	Messambria	Satyr & Nymph	Thasos	Athens	Philip II	Alexander III	Other	Number	Material	Find type	Date Category	References
22	Chernookovo												25	9	34	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	CH 6.18
23	Dabene			5			1		2		1				9+	silver / electrum	hoard	400-350 BC	CH 9.21
24	Dabovo		n/a	n/a											80	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 757
25	Debelt											n/a	n/a		c.15kg	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 787
26	Didymoteicho	12	750 +	"many "	4	"some "				17					1000+	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 739
27	Dobrich													10 Persia	10	silver	hoard on site	500-400 BC	CH 8.33
28	Dobrudzha											22	3		100s	gold	hoard	330-300 BC	CH 9.107
29	Dragoevo												40	6 Lysimachus	46+	silver	hoard	300-200 BC	CH 9.145
30	Dragomir											60			50	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	IGCH 823
31	Drama (Gr)												231		231	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	CH 9.95
32	Drama (Gr)											358	240	Philippi 167	c.785	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 404
33	Drama (Gr)											2	18		20	silver/gold	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 414
34	Drama (Gr)									4				15 Eion, 3 Aegae	23	silver	hoard	500-400 BC	CH 8.75
35	Dzhigurovo								20						20+	silver	hoard	500-450 BC	CH 4.15 (misspelled Tigurovo)
36	Edirne		n/a												n/a	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 744
37	Edirne		100s	100s											100s	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 745
38	Edirne		130												130	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	CH 3.17
39	Ezero	n/a		n/a											n/a	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 756
40	Golyam Chochoven	2										2	100		102	bronze / silver / gold	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 786
41	Golyamo Krushevo				n/a	n/a									"many"	bronze	hoard?	n/a	Герасимов 1946, 239
42	Golyamo Shivachevo											n/a	n/a		c.100	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 785

N	Site	Apollonia Pontica	Chersonese	Parion	Maroneia	Abdera	Kyzikos	Messambria	Satyr & Nymph	Thasos	Athens	Philip II	Alexander III	Other	Number	Material	Find type	Date Category	References
43	Gorni Domlyan	1		52					51						69	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 742
44	Gorni Passarel											150			150	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	IGCH 822
45	Gorni Voden		n/a	n/a											n/a	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 748
46	Gorno Novo Selo	3	285	84											372	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 751
47	Gorno Yabalkovo	2		1											n/a	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 764
48	Gospodintsi											17			17	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	IGCH 819
49	Gostilitsa											1	22		23	silver / bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	CH 8.197=IGCH 397
50	Gotse Delchev										32		16		48	silver	hoard	300-200 BC	CH 8.251=IGCH 829
51	Gotse Delchev								2	2				3 Sara-tokos	c.30	silver	hoard	500-450 BC	CH 7.25 = IGCH 692
52	Gotse Delchev													n/a Berge	n/a	silver	hoard	500-450 BC	IGCH 693
53	Granitovo		6	2											8+	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 761
54	Harmanli											11			11+	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	IGCH 828
55	Haskovo	n/a	100s	100s	<10	<10										silver	hoard	n/a	Tacchella 1898, 215
56	Haskovo				n/a										"small"	silver	hoard	400-350 BC	IGCH 709 (Thompson in IGCH dates it to the late 5th century, Psoma (2011) - c. 350 BC)
57	Hissar (Kardzhali)				300										c.300	bronze	hoard	350-300 BC	IGCH 805
58	Ioan Corin	21+		2+			7	16+						Calatis Histria	207+	electrum, silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 734
59	Izvorno											137	63		200+	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 784
60	Kardzhali					5									5+	silver	hoard	500-450 BC	IGCH 694

N	Site	Apollonia Pontica	Chersonese	Parion	Maroneia	Abdera	Kyzikos	Messambria	Satyr & Nymph	Thasos	Athens	Philip II	Alexander III	Other	Number	Material	Find type	Date Category	References
61	Karnobat	51+													51+	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 763
62	Kladentsi	1						2							3+	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 770
63	Kliment											3	2		5	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 779
64	Kosharitsa							2				79	10		91	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	CH 9.104 = IGCH 778
65	Kostenets		98	15					1						114	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	CH 8.109 Youroukova 1982
66	Krivodol											6	1		7+	gold	hoard	330-300 BC	CH 9.88=IGCH 408
67	Krushevo			101					51		1				153	silver	hoard	500-450 BC	IGCH 695 Psôma 2011, 145 fn.13
68	Maglizh			67											67	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 759
69	Malko Tarnovo											5	3		8	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	CH 8.196
70	Medovets	20						16								silver	hoard	n/a	Karayotov 1994, 26-7
71	Mogilovo											n/a	n/a		150	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 781
72	Mogilovo											56	47	1 Seuthes III	104	bronze	hoard	350-300 BC	IGCH 844
73	Momchilovtsi											n/a	n/a		6	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	IGCH 830
74	Mominsko		200	30		20									c.250	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 741
75	Mrachenik											1	2		3	silver/gold	hoard	350-300 BC	IGCH 831
76	Nebet tepe	n/a														bronze	hoard	600-500 BC	Dimitrov 1991; Балабанов 1986b
77	Nova Zagora												177		177	silver	hoard	300-200 BC	CH 8.252=IGCH 839
78	Nova Zagora						1								1	electrum	hoard?	500-450 BC	Герасимов 1942
79	Odessos	6						1							7	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	CH 4.26
80	Ovchi Kladenets											n/a	n/a		110	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 783
81	Pamidovo (former Tsarsko)		n/a	n/a								n/a			"many"	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 736
82	Pamidovo		5	3								2		2 Histria		silver	hoard	350-300 BC	IGCH 735
83	Partizani	34													34+	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 768
84	Pazardzhik								21+						21+	silver	hoard	500-400 BC	IGCH 703

N	Site	Apollonia Pontica	Chersonese	Parion	Maroneia	Abdera	Kyzikos	Messambria	Satyr & Nymph	Thasos	Athens	Philip II	Alexander III	Other	Number	Material	Find type	Date Category	References
85	Pernik											5	7		12	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	CH 4.27
86	Plovdiv												70		70	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	ICGH 780
87	Plovdiv		42	4		2								6 Apollonia Illyriae	54	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	CH 8.171
88	Plovdiv								10						10	silver	hoard on site	500-450 BC	CH 6.8 Юрукова 1992, 21 fig.8;
89	Plovdiv	1	77	6											84	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 749
90	Pohore												n/a	n/a	c.270	bronze	hoard	350-300 BC	CH 6.16
91	Pontolivado										5	3	29		52	silver	hoard	300-200 BC	CH 8.240
92	Pontolivado									37				16 Neapolis	54	siilver	hoard	600-500 BC	CH 8.16 = 1.11
93	Raduil		8									17			25+	silver	hoard	400-350 BC	CH 8.170 = IGCH 737
94	Rakovitsa												9	n/a	14+	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	CH 6.19
95	Ribnovo											25			20-30	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	IGCH 820
96	Roza	8		25											33+	silver	hoard	500-400 BC	IGCH 762
97	Rozovo (Pa)		4	2	1										c.40	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	Юрукова 1985, 58
98	Russe											6	2		8	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	CH 8.195
99	Russokastro							10							10	bronze	hoard	n/a	Гюзелев 2009, 196
100	Saedinenie		191	54											245	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 750
101	Salmanovo												1	1 Lysimachos	2	silver/bronze	hoard	300-200 BC	CH 9.140
102	Shiloto	120													120	silver	hoard	400-350 BC	Гюзелев 2009, 193; Кияшкина 2000
103	Shumen											18	3		21	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	CH 7.55
104	Shumen	112													112	silver	hoard	400-350 BC	IGCH 769
105	Sladun	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a									300-400	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 740
106	Sliven	20													c.20	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	CH 9.59 = CH 9.99

N	Site	Apollonia Pontica	Chersonese	Parion	Maroneia	Abdera	Kyzikos	Messambria	Satyr & Nymph	Thasos	Athens	Philip II	Alexander III	Other	Number	Material	Find type	Date Category	References
107	Smilyan	4													4	bronze	hoard	n/a	CH 4.4
108	Sofia		50	16								17			83	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	Герасимов 1952, 403
109	Sokolovtsi					n/a									n/a	silver	hoard	500-400 BC	IGCH 708
110	Sredna Mahala	4+													4	silver	hoard	400-350 BC	Karajotov & Kiashkina 1986, 249–50 Гюзелев 2009, 239
111	St Vlas						3									electrum	hoard	600-500 BC	CH 2.7 = IGCH 689
112	Stara Zagora											67	1		68	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	CH 9.82
113	Stara Zagora						2								2	electrum	hoard?	n/a	Герасимов 1942
114	Starosel											20			20	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	IGCH 825
115	Starosel						5								5	electrum	hoard?	500-400 BC	Герасимов 1942
116	Staroselka	100													100	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 767
117	Startsevo					5									5	bronze	hoard	400-350 BC	CH 9.75
118	Strandzha	6+													"many"	bronze	hoard	600-500 BC	Герасимов 1946, 240
119	Temenuga (former Menekshe)				200										c.200	bronze	hoard	400-350 BC	CH 6.14 = CH 7.54
120	Temenuga (former Menekshe)				n/a										"3kg"	bronze	hoard	400-350 BC	Юрукова 1979, 59
121	Tenevo	15		138							2				155	silver	hoard	500-400 BC	IGCH 760
122	Thasos		1							15				1 n/a	17	bronze	hoard	400-350 BC	CH 8.70
123	Thracian Chersonesos						50								50+	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	IGCH 807
124	Todorovo											1	7	49 Histria	57	silver / gold	hoard	330-300 BC	CH 4.27
125	Tomis	n/a						n/a							30-40	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 771
126	Topolovo											22	63	Ph III, Lys, Dem.Pol. Seleuk I	106	gold	hoard	300-200 BC	CH 8.257=IGCH 853
127	Topolyane											2	11		c.200	gold	hoard	330-300 BC	CH 9.105=IGCH 399
128	Troyanovo		441	111											552	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	IGCH 753

N	Site	Apollonia Pontica	Chersonese	Parion	Maroneia	Abdera	Kyzikos	Messambria	Satyr & Nymph	Thasos	Athens	Philip II	Alexander III	Other	Number	Material	Find type	Date Category	References
129	Tsareva Polyana										n/a				n/a	silver	hoard	n/a	Аладжов 1997, 290; Nekhrizov & Mikov 2000 Map 1
130	Tsarski Izvor												n/a		n/a	silver	hoard	300-200 BC	CH 8.253=IGCH 468
131	Turiya											n/a			n/a	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	IGCH 826
132	Tutrakan												20		20+	silver	hoard	330-300 BC	CH 8.230=IGCH 836
133	Varbovka											10			10	bronze	hoard on site	330-300 BC	CH 8.184
134	Varna											30	4		1000	gold	hoard	330-300 BC	CH 9.106
135	Velichkovo													9 Derrones	9	silver	hoard	500-400 BC	IGCH 690
136	Venkovets									4+						silver	hoard	500-450 BC	IGCH 691
137	Vinograd												2	4	6	bronze	hoard	330-300 BC	CH 6.17
138	Vinogradets		130	9					1						c.400	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	CH 8.110 = IGCH 743
139	Vratarite	66					66								132	silver	hoard	n/a	Karayotov 1994, 24–6, 79–81 (Mesambria), 2007, 138 (Apollonia)
140	Yabalkovo											40			40	silver	hoard	350-300 BC	IGCH 827
141	Yasna polyana											10	14		24+	gold	hoard	330-300 BC	IGCH 777
142	Zhivkovo						40								40	electrum	hoard	400-350 BC	IGCH 714

APPENDIX 4. APOLLONIA – BURIAL DATA

Table 15. Burial rites at Apollonia

	Venedikov 1963		Panayotova 1998		Baralis 2010		Total	
Cremation	11	1%	20	11%	9	16%	40	4%
Inhumation	790	99%	161	89%	47	84%	998	96%
N Graves	801		181		56		1038	

Table 16. Number of objects per grave

N Objects	Frequency (N graves) Baralis 2010	
0	6	11%
1	15	27%
2	8	14%
3	11	20%
4	7	13%
5-10	8	14%
>10	1	2%
Total N Graves	56	

Table 17. Frequency of object types in Apollonian graves

Sample / Object	Frequency (N graves) Panayotova 1998		Baralis 2010		Total	Avg %
Lekythos	109	60%	30	54%	139	57%
Jug		0%	13	23%	13	12%
Terracotta figurine	21	12%	5	9%	26	10%
Coin	23	13%	6	11%	29	12%
Strigil	24	13%	6	11%	30	12%
Needle	29	16%	10	18%	39	17%
Fibula	1	1%	4	7%	5	4%
Beads/necklace	13	7%			13	7%
Mirror			3	5%	3	5%
Jewellery			4	7%	4	7%
Weaponry	3?		0			
Astragalos			8	14%	8	14%

APPENDIX 5. DEBELT – POTTERY DATA

The data below derive from the excavation records from Debelt, kept in the archive of the National Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia. The site was divided in 5 x 5 m square trenches (sq. 10, 20, etc.), which were excavated in 20 cm spits (Layer 1, 2, etc.), and the excavators kept fragment counts for each category of pottery, layer by layer, trench by trench. The extant data cover 23 trenches (an area of 0.6 ha) and 7 pits.

The main salient patterns in the pottery data from these trenches are:

- Hand-made pottery is concentrated in the deeper layers, and its quantity increases gradually. Two deposits contain only hand-made pottery: Pit 1 in sq. 30, and Layer 7 of sq. 10.
- Wheel-made pottery becomes more frequent over time, often with oscillations.
- Transport amphorae show a pronounced increase across the site over time.
- Imported black-glazed vessels are very rare (1-2%) of the total site assemblage.

The pottery statistics show plenty of 'noise': the proportions of different ceramic categories change for reasons we cannot explain without contextual excavation and appropriate records. Areas of the site would also have changed their function over time, and different functions would leave different ceramic footprints.

Another limitation of these data is that sherd counts give only a coarse picture of relative quantity. Large vessels like amphorae shatter into many fragments, whereas small hand-made jars or Attic cups break into a few pieces. Hence, although the amphorae make up 46% of all fragments, they only make up 23% of the rims. Despite the impression that there are mountains of amphorae on the site, the minimum number of vessels is 137 (the number of toes), or 282 (the number of handles, divided by 2).

Despite their limitations, the data do show a gradual decrease of hand-made pottery, and an increase in complementary wheel-made vessels, alongside imported containers. This suggests that the Debelt community adopted wheel-made pottery gradually, and the new containers never completely replaced the hand-made tradition. More primary research is needed to shed light on the adoption of the potter's wheel and the consumption of wheel-made vessels, and Debelt is a promising case-study for this purpose.

Table 18. Pottery from Debelt (summary for Sector AI).

Site summary	Hand-made						Wheel-made						Amphorae						Black-glaze						TOTAL
	rim	handle	wall	base	Sum		rim	handle	wall	base	Sum		rim	handle	wall	toes	Sum		rim	handle	wall	base	Sum		
Rims	481					35%	548					40%	308					23%	22					2%	1359
Handles		251				23%		258				23%		564				51%		38				3%	1111
Walls			4253			28%			3497			23%			7569			49%			125			1%	15444
Bases				253		37%				272		40%				137		20%				16		2%	678
All fragments	481	251	4253	253	5238	28%	548	258	3497	272	4575	25%	308	564	7569	137	8578	46%	22	38	125	20	205	1%	18596

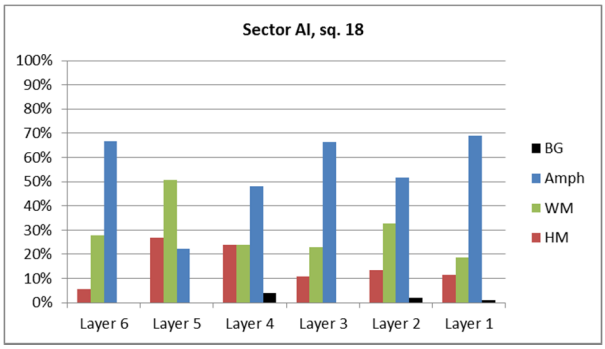
Table 19. Proportions of hand-made, wheel-made, and imported pottery from Debelt

TRENCH		Hand-made						Wheel-made						Amphorae						Black-glaze						TOTAL
	Spit	rim	handl	wall	base	Sum	HM	rim	handle	wall	base	Sum	WM	rim	handl	wall	base	Sum	Amph	rim	handle	wall	base	Sum	BG	
sq. 4	Layer 1	4	4	35	2	45	41%	13	5	19	11	48	44%	5	2	5	1	13	12%		1	3		4	3.6%	110
(1983)	Layer 2	29	12	213	29	283	30%	27	9	260	17	313	33%	1	17	320	1	339	36%	1	1	8	1	11	1.2%	946
	Layer 3	27	11	282	35	355	45%	21	6	291	19	337	43%	12	9	62	3	86	11%		6		3	9	1%	787
	Layer 4			25	6	31	37%	3	1	22	1	27	33%		1	22		23	28%	2				2	2%	83
Trench total						714	37%					725	38%					461	24%					26	1%	1926
sq. 5	Layer 1	5	1	30	5	41	13%	16	7	55		78	25%	16	9	166		191	61%			1	1	2	0.6%	312
(1983)	Layer 2	3	3	64	4	74	17%	12	5	91	3	111	26%	8	4	233	1	246	57%				1	1	0.2%	432
	Layer 3	7	1	59	3	70	31%	6		34		40	18%	2	6	98	3	109	49%		1	3		4	2%	223
	Layer 4	2		6		8	22%	2		9	1	12	32%			16		16	43%			1		1	3%	37
	Layer 5			2		2	9%	1	1			2	9%		2	16		18	82%					0	0%	22
Trench total						195	19%					243	24%					580	57%					8	0.8%	1026
sq. 6	Layer 1	8		63		71	27%	4	3	31	1	39	15%	3	13	130	5	151	58%		1			1	0.4%	262
(1982)	Layer 2	2		63		65	32%	6	1	42	6	55	27%	2	6	70		78	39%	1		2		3	1.5%	201
	Layer 3	9	2	80	4	95	45%	6	2	39	3	50	23%		7	60	1	68	32%					0	0%	213
	Layer 4	19	4	146	10	179	60%	3		68	2	73	24%	1	3	42	1	47	16%					0	0%	299
	Layer 5	15	1	51	3	70	62%	1	2	26	1	30	27%		1	12		13	12%					0	0%	113
	Layer 6	9	3	16	1	29	58%			8		8	16%			13		13	26%					0	0%	50
Trench total						509	45%					255	22%					370	33%					4	0.4%	1138
sq. 7	Layer 1	1	3	13		17	9%	9	3	4		16	8%	5	10	145	1	161	82%			3		3	1.5%	197
(1982)	Layer 2	9	2	45	2	58	59%	1	4	1		6	6%			32		32	32%			1	2	3	3.0%	99
	Layer 3	11		31	2	44	37%		1	1		2	2%		3	71		74	62%					0	0%	120
	Layer 4	9	4	41	2	56	62%	2		1		3	3%	2	1	27		30	33%			2		2	2%	91
	Layer 5	5	2	18	1	26	65%		2			2	5%			12		12	30%					0	0%	40
	Layer 6	1		9		10	71%			1		1	7%			3		3	21%					0	0%	14
Trench total						211	38%					30	5%					312	56%					8	1.4%	561
sq. 7 (1982)	Pit 1	9	5	65	3	82	14%		3	12		15	3%	16	15	446		477	83%					0	0%	574
sq. 7 (1983)	Pit 2	16	19	228	13	276	36%	26		86	10	122	16%	27	36	284	7	354	46%	3	4	8		15	2%	767
sq. 8	Layer 1	5	5	62	9	81	18%	14	11	94	7	126	28%	13	11	216	5	245	54%		2			2	0.4%	454
(1982)	Layer 2	27	17	265	14	323	37%	10	13	106	18	147	17%	13	12	370	4	399	45%		3	9	2	14	1.6%	883
	Layer 3	3	2	39	1	45	42%	4		28	5	37	34%	3	1	21		25	23%			1		1	1%	108
	Layer 4	5	3	43	1	52	79%			12		12	18%			2		2	3%					0	0%	66
	Layer 5	6		32	4	42	64%	1		8	2	11	17%	2	1	10		13	20%					0	0%	66
Trench total						543	34%					333	21%					684	43%					17	1.1%	1577
sq. 9	Layer 1	2		6		8	7%	5	1	11	2	19	18%	4	9	62	2	77	72%	1	1	1		3	2.8%	107
(1982)	Layer 2	3	1	5		9	12%		2	6	2	10	13%		2	50	3	55	71%		1	3		4	5.1%	78
	Layer 3			41		41	23%	3	1	27		31	18%	1	2	100	1	104	59%			1		1	1%	177
	Layer 4	4	1	20	2	27	24%	10		42	2	54	48%	1		30		31	28%					0	0%	112
	Layer 5	1		17		18	42%	3		14		17	40%			8		8	19%					0	0%	43
	Layer 6	1	3	17		21	72%					0	0%		1	7		8	28%					0	0%	29
Trench total						124	23%					131	24%					283	52%					8	1.5%	546
sq. 10	Layer 1		1	8		9	2%	6	7	71	7	91	22%	9	18	278	3	308	75%		1			1	0.2%	409
(1982)	Layer 2	2		25		27	17%		4	10		14	9%	2	1	116		119	73%			2		2	1.2%	162
	Layer 3	1		10		11	12%	8	4	37	7	56	59%	4	6	18		28	29%					0	0%	95
	Layer 4	11	4	6		21	25%	5	7	33		45	54%			17		17	20%					0	0%	83
	Layer 5	4	9	32	2	47	72%	1		7		8	12%			10		10	15%					0	0%	65
	Layer 6	2	3	54	3	62	94%			1		1	2%			3		3	5%					0	0%	66
	Layer 7	3		1	1	5	100%					0	0%					0	0%					0	0%	5
Trench total						182	21%					215	24%					485	55%					3	0.3%	885
sq. 15	Pit 1	8		61		69	50%	6	1	35		42	31%			25	1	26	19%					0	0%	137
(1983)																										

TRENCH		Hand-made						Wheel-made						Amphorae						Black-glaze						TOTAL
	Spit	rim	handl	wall	base	Sum	HM	rim	handle	wall	base	Sum	WM	rim	handl	wall	base	Sum	Amph	rim	handle	wall	base	Sum	BG	
sq. 15	Layer 1	5	1	22	0	28	19%	10	7	33	4	54	38%	3	6	49	2	60	42%	0	0	2	0	2	1.4%	144
(1983)	Layer 2	13	4	56	5	78	19%	6	9	75	7	97	23%	6	13	221	0	240	57%	0	1	1	1	3	0.7%	418
	Layer 3	10	0	84	7	101	35%	21	15	52	9	97	33%	5	4	78	6	93	32%	1	0	0	0	1	0%	292
	Layer 4	2	0	15	0	17	24%	8	3	18	1	30	43%	0	6	12	4	22	31%	0	0	1	0	1	1%	70
	Layer 5	0	1	3	1	5	19%	0	0	5	0	5	19%	0	0	16	0	16	62%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	26
Trench total						229	26%					283	32%					431	49%					7	0.8%	950
sq. 16	Pit 3	6	2	63	4	75	29%	12	1	129	6	148	58%	0	0	19	0	19	7%	2	1	9	3	15	5.8%	257
(1983)																										
sq. 16	Layer 1	5	1	30	5	41	13%	16	7	55		78	25%	16	9	166		191	61%			1	1	2	0.6%	312
(1983)	Layer 2	3	3	64	4	74	17%	12	5	91	3	111	26%	8	4	233	1	246	57%				1	1	0.2%	432
	Layer 3	7	1	59	3	70	31%	6		34		40	18%	2	6	98	3	109	49%		1	3		4	2%	223
	Layer 4	2		6		8	22%	2		9	1	12	32%			16		16	43%			1		1	3%	37
	Layer 5			2		2	9%	1	1			2	9%		2	16		18	82%					0	0%	22
Trench total						195	19%					243	24%					580	57%					8	0.8%	1026
sq. 17	Layer 1	7	13	167	5	192	38%	6	2	61	7	76	15%	8	13	211	4	236	46%	0	1	5	0	6	1.2%	510
(1983)	Layer 2	2	5	83	0	90	29%	7	5	78	7	97	31%	0	1	123	0	124	39%	2	0	0	1	3	1.0%	314
	Layer 3	4	9	17	0	30	24%	9	3	18	0	30	24%	2	4	56	1	63	50%	0	0	3	0	3	2%	126
	Layer 4	5	0	19	2	26	54%	2	0	4	1	7	15%	0	0	13	0	13	27%	0	1	1	0	2	4%	48
	Layer 5	1	0	4	0	5	36%	0	1	0	0	1	7%	0	2	5	1	8	57%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	14
	Layer 6	0	1	4	0	5	28%	1	0	2	0	3	17%	1	0	9	0	10	56%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	18
Trench total						348	34%					214	21%					454	44%					14	1.4%	1030
sq. 18	Layer 1	1	0	9	3	13	12%	6	0	12	3	21	19%	2	8	67	1	78	69%	0	0	0	1	1	0.9%	113
(1983)	Layer 2	3	8	9	0	20	14%	6	1	35	6	48	33%	4	3	69	0	76	52%	0	1	2	0	3	2.0%	147
	Layer 3	4	2	14	2	22	11%	6	0	38	3	47	23%	4	9	123	1	137	67%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	206
	Layer 4	0	1	3	2	6	24%	2	0	4	0	6	24%	0	0	12	0	12	48%	0	0	1	0	1	4%	25
	Layer 5	0	0	16	1	17	27%	4	2	25	1	32	51%	0	2	12	0	14	22%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	63
	Layer 6	0	1	0	0	1	6%	0	0	5	0	5	28%	0	0	12	0	12	67%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	18
Trench total						79	14%					159	28%					329	58%					5	0.9%	572
sq. 19	Layer 1	5	2	53	3	63	16%	7	4	60	4	75	19%	9	19	215	2	245	62%	1	1	9	0	11	2.8%	394
(1983)	Layer 2	3	2	5	0	10	9%	2	3	13	2	20	18%	2	2	63	7	74	65%	1	0	9	0	10	8.8%	114
	Layer 3	3	2	13	0	18	20%	2	4	6	3	15	17%	2	2	50	0	54	60%	0	1	2	0	3	3%	90
	Layer 4	0	1	9	0	10	29%	4	1	0	1	6	18%	0	0	17	1	18	53%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	34
	Layer 5	2	0	0	1	3	20%	1	0	2	0	3	20%	0	0	9	0	9	60%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	15
	Layer 6	0	0	5	0	5	56%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0	4	0	4	44%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	9
Trench total						109	17%					119	18%					404	62%					24	3.7%	656
sq. 20	Layer 1					0	0%			8	1	9	38%	1		13	1	15	63%					0	0%	24
(1982)	Layer 2					0	0%	2	1	10	2	15	37%	1	2	20	3	26	63%					0	0%	41
	Layer 3	1		8		9	19%	2	3	1	1	7	15%	2	3	25	1	31	66%					0	0%	47
	Layer 4		2	10		12	19%	4	1	25		30	48%	1	1	19		21	33%					0	0%	63
	Layer 5			8	1	9	15%	2	3	17	1	23	38%		2	25	1	28	47%					0	0%	60
	Layer 6	3	6	23		32	84%		1	4		5	13%			1		1	3%					0	0%	38
	Layer 7	6	3	40	4	53	87%					0	0%			8		8	13%					0	0%	61
Trench total						115	34%					89	27%					130	39%					0	0%	334
sq. 26	Layer 1	0	0	10	0	10	19%	3	4	4	2	13	25%	1	3	24	1	29	55%	0	0	1	0	1	1.9%	53
(1983)	Layer 2	1	1	14	0	16	25%	3	1	12	0	16	25%	2	0	27	0	29	46%	0	1	1	0	2	3.2%	63
	Layer 3	0	2	18	0	20	16%	7	1	32	3	43	33%	3	3	60	0	66	51%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	129
	Layer 4	0	0	4	1	5	11%	2	1	19	0	22	50%	0	0	17	0	17	39%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	44
	Layer 5	0	0	8	0	8	28%	0	0	4	0	4	14%	0	0	14	0	14	48%	0	0	3	0	3	10%	29
Trench total						59	7%					98	11%					155	18%					6	0.7%	318
sq. 27	Pit 1	16	4	87	3	110	20%	59	14	311	9	393	73%	1	1	37		39	7%					0	0%	542
(1983)																										
sq. 30	Pit 1	9	8	178	5	200	100%					0	0%					0	0%					0	0%	200
(1982)																										
sq. 30	Layer 1			5		5	12%	1		7	1	9	22%	2	1	20	1	24	59%	1		2		3	7.3%	41
(1982)	Layer 2	2		11		13	22%	1	1	5		7	12%	1	1	32	1	35	60%	1	1	1		3	5.2%	58
	Layer 3			123	3	126	37%		7	55	10	72	21%	9	20	111	7	147	43%					0	0%	345
	Layer 4	10	13	81		104	48%	6	2	37	2	47	22%	2	6	57		65	30%	1				1	0.5%	217
	Layer 5	1		37	2	40	21%	5	8	71	4	88	45%	4		63		67	34%					0	0%	195
	Layer 6	4		5		9	15%	6	1	35	5	47	78%	1	2	1		4	7%					0	0%	60
	Layer 7	6		7		13	38%					0	0%	3	2	16		21	62%					0	0%	34
Trench total						310	33%					270	28%					363	38%					7	1%	950
sq. 36	Layer 1	2	6	24	2	34	16%	6	2	57	6	71	32%	9	6	95	0	110	50%	0	0	4	0	4	1.8%	219
(1983)	Layer 2	6	4	47	1	58	23%	11	2	47	1	61	24%	6	9	114	3	132	53%	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	251
	Layer 3	0	1	9	2	12	16%	3	0	21	2	26	35%	1	2	30	3	36	49%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	74
	Layer 4	0	0	1	0	1	8%	0	2	2	0	4	33%	0	0	7	0	7	58%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	12
	Layer 5	1	0	3	0	4	31%	2	2	0	1	5	38%	0	1	2	0	3	23%	0	1	0	0	1	8%	13
	Layer 6	0	0	3	0	3	30%	0	0	2	0	2	20%	0	0	5	0	5	50%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	10
Trench total						112	19%					169	29%					293	51%					5	0.9%	579

TRENCH		Hand-made						Wheel-made						Amphorae						Black-glaze						TOTAL
	Spit	rim	handl	wall	base	Sum	HM	rim	handle	wall	base	Sum	WM	rim	handl	wall	base	Sum	Amph	rim	handle	wall	base	Sum	BG	
sq. 40	Layer 1			1		1	7%			3		3	20%		3	6	2	11	73%					0	0%	15
(1982)	Layer 2			26		26	53%	4	2	5	2	13	27%			10		10	20%					0	0%	49
	Layer 3		2	28		30	55%	1		7	1	9	16%			16		16	29%					0	0%	55
	Layer 4		1	4		5	20%		1	11		12	48%			8		8	32%					0	0%	25
Trench total						62	43%					37	26%					45	31%					0	0%	144
sq. 40	Pit 1	14	3	149	3	169	57%	7	1	39	11	58	19%	6	8	54	0	68	23%	0	0	4	0	4	1.3%	299
(1983)																										
sq. 41	Layer 1	0	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	0	1	4	0	5	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	5
(1982)	Layer 2	0	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	1	2	19	0	22	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	22
	Layer 3	0	0	6	0	6	10%	0	0	4	0	4	7%	0	9	37	2	48	83%	0	0	0	0	0	0%	58
	Layer 4	0	3	2	0	5	4%	0	0	3	0	3	3%	5	21	78	2	106	91%	0	0	2	0	2	2%	116
	Layer 5	4	2	11	0	17	20%	0	4	21	1	26	30%	2	4	37	0	43	50%					0	0%	86
Trench total						28	9.8%					33	11.5					224	78.0					2	0.7%	287
sq. 50	Layer 1					0	0%					0	0%	1	1	18		20	100%					0	0%	20
(1982)	Layer 2	1		2		3	23%					0	0%			10		10	77%					0	0%	13
	Layer 3			4		4	6%	1	2	6		9	13%	1	8	45		54	79%		1			1	1%	68
	Layer 4			3	3	6	5%	3	1	12	1	17	15%	2	3	87	1	93	79%			1		1	1%	117
	Layer 5			5	1	6	3%	5	4	11	3	23	10%	2	9	190	5	206	86%	1		2	1	4	2%	239
	Layer 6	1	2	11	2	16	43%			14		14	38%			7		7	19%					0	0%	37
	Layer 7				3	3	14%					0	0%			18		18	86%					0	0%	21
Trench total						38	7%					63	12%					408	79%					6	1.2%	515
sq. 51	Layer 1	1	0	0	1	2	2%	0	0	2	0	2	2%	1	4	68	5	78	94%		1			1	1.2%	83
(1982)	Layer 2	1	0	3	0	4	5%	1	0	2	1	4	5%	2	18	55	1	76	90%					0	0%	84
	Layer 3	0	0	0	0	0	0%	2	1	6	0	9	26%		6	19	0	25	74%					0	0%	34
Trench total						6	3%					15	7%					179	89%					1	0.5%	201
sq. 60	Layer 1					0	0%	1		2	1	4	19%		2	11		13	62%	2	1		1	4	19%	21
(1982)	Layer 2	4	1	8	1	14	10%	3	2	7	3	15	11%	2	9	87	4	102	76%			3		3	2.2%	134
	Layer 3	2		14	2	18	20%	1	1	16		18	20%		6	42	1	49	56%		1	2		3	3%	88
	Layer 4		1	8		9	47%			8		8	42%		1		1	2	11%					0	0%	19
	Layer 5					0	0%					0	0%			3		3	100%					0	0%	3
	Layer 6					0	0%					0	0%					0	0%					0	0%	0
	Layer 7	1				1	8%		1			1	8%			10		10	77%	1				1	8%	13
Trench total						42	15%					46	17%					179	64%					11	4.0%	278
sq. 70	pit 1	1		22	1	24	80%			6		6	20%					0	0%					0	0%	30
(1982)																										
sq. 70	Layer 1					0	0%					0	0%		4	5	3	12	100%					0	0%	12
(1982)	Layer 2			2		2	14%			2		2	14%		2	8		10	71%					0	0%	14
	Layer 3			1		1	17%		1			1	17%			3	1	4	67%					0	0%	6
	Layer 4					0	0%					0	0%			5		5	100%					0	0%	5
Trench total						3	8%					3	8%					31	84%					0	0%	37
sq. 80	Layer 1	2		1		3	6%			2		2	4%		11	31	6	48	91%					0	0%	53
(1982)	Layer 2					0	0%					0	0%		2	5		7	100%					0	0%	7
	Layer 3				1	1	11%			3		3	33%		1	2	1	4	44%		1			1	11%	9
	Layer 4					0	0%			1		1	20%		1	3		4	80%					0	0%	5
Trench total						4	5%					6	8%					63	85%					1	1.4%	74
sq. 90	Layer 1			2		2	22%					0	0%			7		7	78%					0	0%	9
(1982)	Layer 2					0	0%					0	0%					0	0%					0	0%	0
	Layer 3					0	0%					0	0%					0	0%					0	0%	0
	Layer 4					0	0%					0	0%	3	15	12		30	100%					0	0%	30
	Layer 5					0	0%					0	0%	1	8	14		23	100%					0	0%	23
	Layer 6			5		5	14%			3	1	4	11%		2	24		26	74%					0	0%	35
	Layer 7			8	1	9	11%			8		8	10%	3	14	46	3	66	80%					0	0%	83
Trench total						16	9%					12	7%					152	84%					0	0%	180

Figure A.9. Changing proportions of hand-made, wheel-made, and imported pottery at Debelt


Sector AI, sq. 18
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
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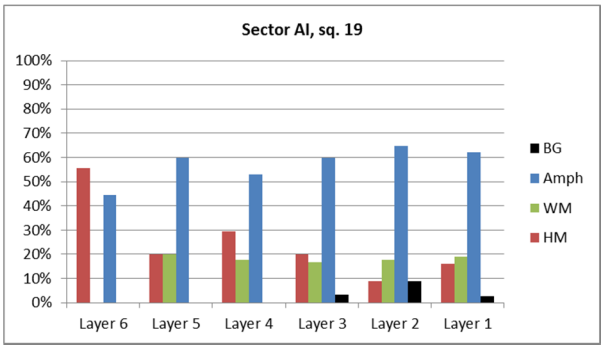
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
Layer 6
Layer 5
Layer 4
Layer 3
Layer 2
Layer 1
BG
Amph
WM
HM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80%
70%
60%
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20%
10%
0%
Layer 6
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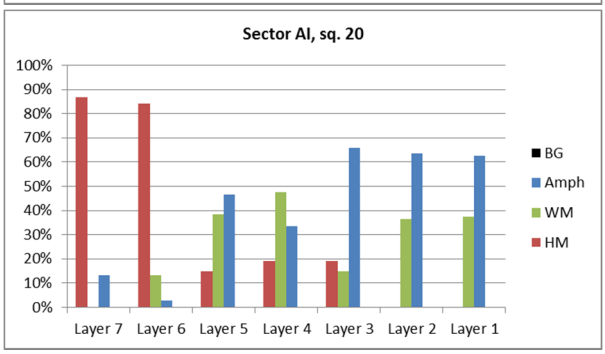
Layer 2
Layer 1
BG
Amph
WM
HM


Sector AI, sq. 20
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
Layer 7
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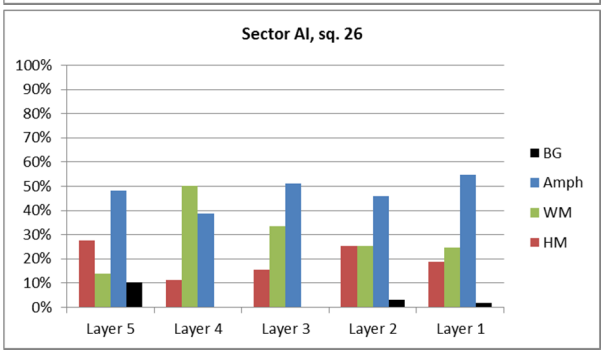
Layer 5
Layer 4
Layer 3
Layer 2
Layer 1
BG
Amph
WM
HM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90%
80%
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50%
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30%
20%
10%
0%
Layer 5
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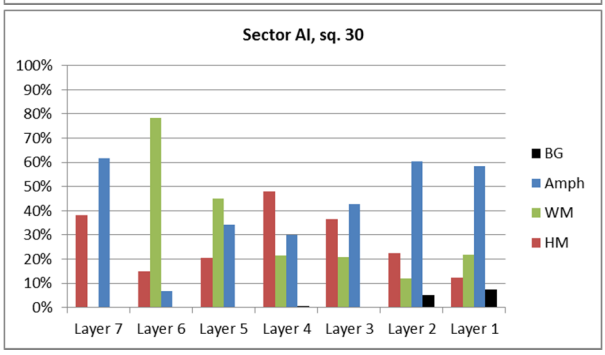
Layer 1
BG
Amph
WM
HM


Sector AI, sq. 30
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
Layer 7
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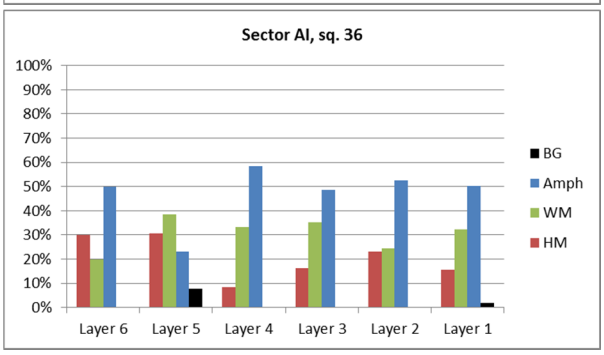
Layer 2
Layer 1
BG
Amph
WM
HM


Sector AI, sq. 36
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
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30%
20%
10%
0%
Layer 6
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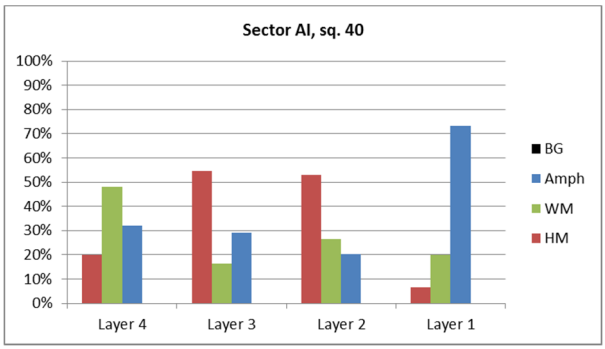
Layer 1
BG
Amph
WM
HM


Sector AI, sq. 40
100%
90%
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60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
Layer 4
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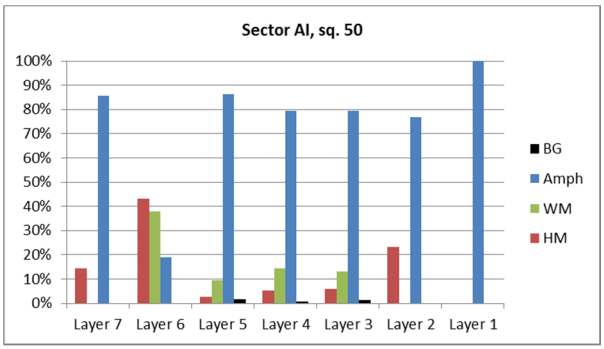
Layer 2
Layer 1
BG
Amph
WM
HM


Sector AI, sq. 50
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
Layer 7
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Layer 5
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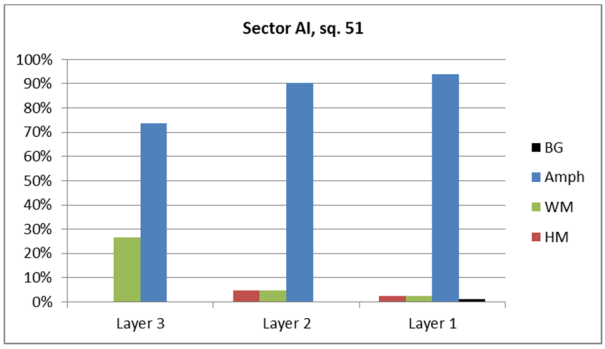
Layer 3
Layer 2
Layer 1
BG
Amph
WM
HM


Sector AI, sq. 51
100%
90%
80%
70%
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50%
40%
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20%
10%
0%
Layer 3
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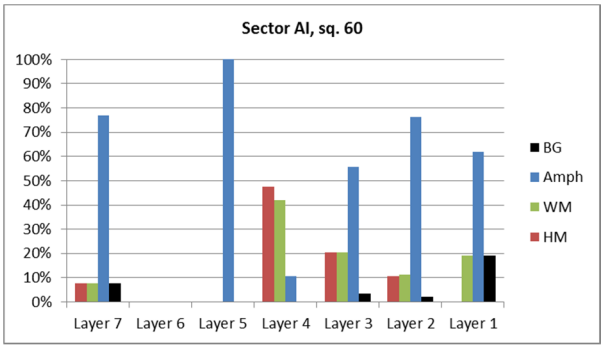
Layer 1
BG
Amph
WM
HM


Sector AI, sq. 60
100%
90%
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70%
60%
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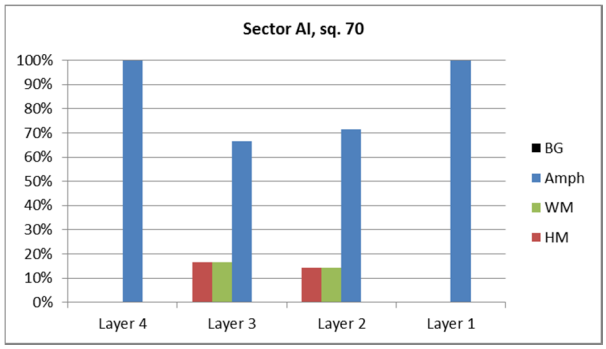
Layer 7
Layer 6
Layer 5
Layer 4
Layer 3
Layer 2
Layer 1
BG
Amph
WM
HM


Sector AI, sq. 70
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
Layer 4
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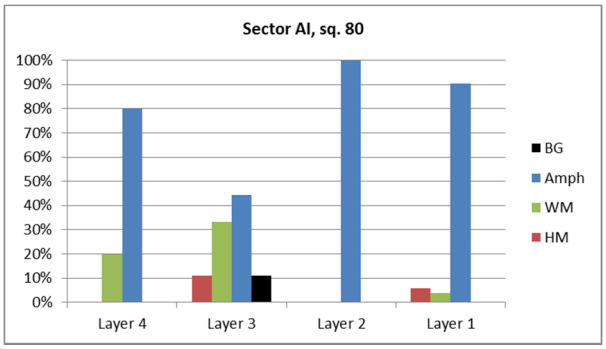
Layer 2
Layer 1
BG
Amph
WM
HM


Sector AI, sq. 80
100%
90%
80%
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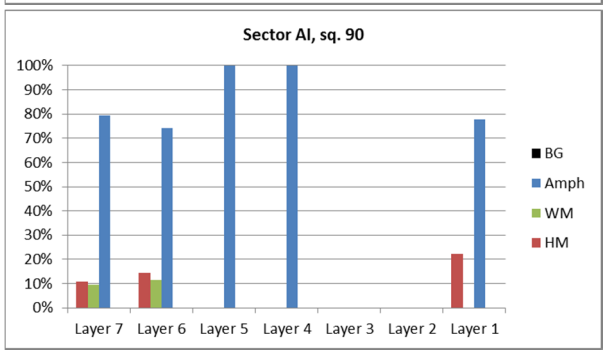
20%
10%
0%
Layer 4
Layer 3
Layer 2
Layer 1
BG
Amph
WM
HM


Sector AI, sq. 90
100%
90%
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60%
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Layer 7
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Layer 1
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APPENDIX 6. GRAFFITI

This Appendix presents the inscriptions from Vetren, published in catalogue form by Lidia Domaradzka. As explained in Chapter IV, I have re-classified them, and produced some descriptive statistics.

For further details, see (Domaradzka 1996, 2002a, 2007a, 2007b, 2013a).

Table 20. *Graffiti* at LIA and early Hellenistic sites in Thrace

Site	Context	Inscriptions	References
Adzhiiska Vodenitsa	Settlement, c. 450-280 BC	200+ *graffiti* Names, dedications, single letters	See above
Parvenets	Accidental find, late 5th - early 4th century	Grave stele. Names: Ἀντιφάνης son of Ἥρανδρος	Domaradzka 2005, 24 fig. 9; Герасимова *et al.* 1993, 75–8
Akandzhievo	Tumular cemetery, 5th -3rd century	Single or double letters on bowls	Domaradzka 2005, 22–3 fig. 5–6
Halka Bunar + Selska Mogila	Settlement. Late 4th - early 3rd century	6 *graffiti* on jugs Names (Thr): ΣΕΥΘΟΥ, ...ΑΤΟΚΟΥ	Тонкова & Иванов 2011, 63 fig. 7; Тонкова & Сидерис 2011, 88
Simeonovgrad	LIA settlement. Stamped roof tiles, Thasian amphorae, BG vessels	*Graffiti*: Names (Gr): Ἀστυκράτ(ης) Other: ΑΜΑ, Δ, ΜΙ, Η, Φ	Domaradzka 2005, 24 fig. 10; Петров & Калоянов 1999
Seuthopolis	Settlement, c. 325-280 BC	130 *graffiti* Names (Gr): Ἀριξένος; (Thr): Σευ-, Ταρ- Deities: Herakles, Hera, Zeus (ΔΙ)	Chichikova 1987; Domaradzka 2005, 23 fig. 7–8; Чичикова 1984, 81–3
Sboryanovo (Helis?)	Settlement. c. 310-265 BC	c.20 *graffiti* Names (Thr): Τηρης, Σκακας Metric symbols	Domaradzka 2005, 24–5 fig. 11.1–2; for the date - Tzochev forthcoming

Table 21. *Graffiti* from Vetren re-classified and grouped by content type

N	Inscription	Published interpretation	Type (re-classified)	Length	Object	Ware	Date from	Date to	Date Group	Trench	Reference	
1	ΑΒΓΔΕ	Abecedary, image, illegible scratchings	Abecedary, Image	5	lamp				400-300 BC	A2	Domaradzka 2013a	No. 09
2	ἱερόσ or ἱερά	Vessel sacred to a deity	Dedication	4	bolsal	BG	-400	-300	400-300 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 33
3	ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΣΔΙ(Ι)	Dedication "Hekataios offers it to Zeus"	Dedication	10	Panathenaic amphora	BF	-475	-380	400-350 BC	D19	Domaradzka 2007b	No. 01
4	ΑΠΛΟ	Personal name or dedication to Apollo	Dedication?	4	bowl	BG				AVI	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 16
5	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙ	Personal name or dedication to Dyonisus	Dedication?	7	bolsal	BG	-400	-380	400-350 BC	A6	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 23
6	ΚΟΡΑ	Dedication to Kora	Dedication?	4	kantharos	BG	-350	-300	350-300 BC	3260/1120	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 41
7	ΔΗΙΝΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΔΗΣ	epithet of Apollo and personal name; Philippidis	Name	14	skyphos	RF	-350	-300	350-300 BC	AVI	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 04
8	ΕΥΚΤΗ(-ων or -ῆτις)	Personal name	Name	5+	bowl	BG	-400	-300	400-300 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 26
9	ΚΥΚΑ	Personal name or dedication to a deity	Name	4	fish plate	BG	-330	-300	350-300 BC	A7	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 42
10	ΜΑΡΩΝ	Personal name	Name	5	bolsal	BG	-400	-300	400-300 BC	A6	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 45
11	ΠΡΙΛ	n/a	Name	4	lekythos	BG	-375	-350	400-350 BC	B22	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 55
12	-ΑΤΟΣ -ΡΤΗΣ	"Names on a sherd?, ostracon?"	Name	8+	n/a	BG				AVI	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 60
13	ΔΕΛΙ	Personal name	Name	4	bolsal	BG	-400	-300	400-300 BC	B21	Domaradzka 2007b	No. 02
14	ΚΕΡΔΩ	Personal name Κέρδων	Name	5	lekane	OW	-350	-300	350-300 BC	A18/19	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 07
15	ΝΥΜ-	Personal name Νυμ(φαίος)	Name	3+	oinochoe	OW			400-300 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 12
16	ΣΕΥ	Personal name	Name	3	n/a	OW			400-300 BC	B17	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 15
17	ΣΕΥΘΕΣ ΜΙΙ	Personal name	Name	9	fish plate	OW			350-300 BC	A10	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 16
18	ΕΟΡ	Personal name ΄Εόρτιος; Ἑορτάσης	Name	3	bowl	GW	-350	-300	350-300 BC	AVI	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 25
19	ΣΠΟΚΗ	Personal name	Name	5	bowl	GW	-350	-300	350-300 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 43
20	ΠΡΙΚ	n/a	Name?	4	mug	BG	-500	-400	500-400 BC	B22	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 56
21	ΠΡΙ	Personal name	Name?	3	bolsal	BG	-400	-300	400-300 BC	A20	Domaradzka 2007b	No. 07
22	Αντίπατρο[ς] [Μ]ακεκας .ΑΤΡΙ.ΑΝΙ ..ΑΝ.ΔΕΙΝ ΑΙΚΕΚΟΤΟΥΣΣΚΞ Κίνων	List of names	Names list	45+	pithos				400-300 BC	B21	Domaradzka 2013a	No. 10
23	ΔΠΙΙ	Numeral - 27	Numeral	4	skyphos	RF	-375	-350	400-350 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 05

N	Inscription	Published interpretation	Type (re-classified)	Length	Object	Ware	Date from	Date to	Date Group	Trench	Reference	
24	ΠΙΙ	Numeral - 7	Numeral	3	bowl/skyphos?	RF	-400	-350	400-350 BC	AVI	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 08
25	ΠΙΙ	Numeral - 7	Numeral	3	krater	RF	-350	-330	350-300 BC	B22	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 09
26	ΔΔΠ	Numeral - 25	Numeral	3	bolsal	BG	-400	-350	400-350 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 22
27	ΔΠΙΙΙ and ΜΙΙ	n/a	Numeral	8	kantharos / skyphos	BG	-350	-325	350-300 BC	AVII	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 24
28	ΤΡΙΤ-	Volume - 1/3 chous (τριτημόριοσ χοῦσ)	Numeral	4+	jug	OW	-350	-300	350-300 BC	B22	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 17
29	ΗΜΙΚΟ	Volume - 1/2 kotyle (ἡμικο(τύλιον))	Numeral	5	n/a	GW	-350	-300	350-300 BC	3265/1120	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 27
30	ΗΜΙ	Volume - 1/2 chous (ἡμί(χοῦσ))	Numeral	3	n/a	GW	-350	-300	350-300 BC	3265/1120	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 28
31	ΜΗΕΙΔΙΗ	Prohibitive imperative	Phrase	7	bowl	BG	-350	-300	350-300 BC	AVI	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 48
32	Ἀθηναγόρησ ἡμήρησ μισθόν	"Athenagores salary for a day"	Phrase	22	amphora	BF	-500	-400	500-400 BC	D24	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 01
33	ΗΡΟΞΕΙΝΟ(Ε)ΙΜΙ	Personal name (owner) "I belong to Eroxeinos"	Phrase	11	oinochoe	BG	-430	-380	500-400 BC	A13	Domaradzka 2007b	No. 03
34	Τεταρτήμοριον ΒΟΡΝΕΟ or ΒΟΥΓΙΘΟ κοτ(τ)αβίσκος Ἀπολλοδώρο	Volume or price tag - "1/4 [of an obolos/choux]" (Written by a different hand): Personal name? "vessel used in the game of cottabos, belonging to Apollodoros"	Phrase	38	skyphos	RF	-400	-350	400-350 BC	A3	Domaradzka 2013a	No. 02
35	Εὐλίμ[ν]η or Εὐλίμ[έν]η Δημέα γυ[νή]	"Eulim[n]e or Eulim[en]e, wife of Demeas"	Phrase	13	askos	OW			400-300 BC	A7	Domaradzka 2013a	No. 07
36	Μ	Oracle inscription: "Μοχθεῖν ἀνάνκη· μεταβ]ολὴ δ' ἔσται καλή" - "It is necessary to labour, but the change will be admirable." Cf. alphabetic oracle inscription from Olympos, Lykia, (CIG 4310; Kaibel 1965, No. 1039)	Short	1	astragalos				n/a	A5	Domaradzka 2013b	No. 01
37	ΜΟ and ΜΕ	as above	Short	4	astragalos				n/a	B21	Domaradzka 2013b	No. 02
38	ΜΕΓ and Η ΜΟ	as above	Short	6	astragalos				n/a	A20	Domaradzka 2013b	No. 03
39	Ρ and Ρ	Oracle inscription: "ῥᾷον διάξας ἔτι βραχύν μείνας χρόνον" - "you will go on more easily, if you wait a short time." Cf. alphabetic oracle inscription from Olympos, Lykia, (CIG 4310; Kaibel 1965, No. 1039)	Short	2	astragalos				n/a	A7	Domaradzka 2013b	No. 04
40	ΑΑ	Apollo, Artemis (?)	Short	2	skyphos	RF		-350	400-350 BC	B'7	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 02
41	ΔΔ		Short	2	skyphos	RF	-330	-300	350-300 BC	3265/1120	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 03

N	Inscription	Published interpretation	Type (re-classified)	Length	Object	Ware	Date from	Date to	Date Group	Trench	Reference	
42	ΙΨΠ	n/a	Short	3	skyphos	RF	-370	-350	400-350 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 06
43	ΞΕΟ	n/a	Short	3	krater	RF	-400	-350	400-350 BC	A6	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 07
44	A	Apollo, Artemis (?)	Short	1	cup kantharos / skyphos	BG	-400	-300	400-300 BC	AVI	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 10
45	A	Apollo, Artemis (?)	Short	1	cup kantharos / skyphos	BG	-375	-350	400-350 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 11
46	A	Apollo, Artemis (?)	Short	1	n/a	BG		-280	300-200 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 12
47	A (/Δ?)	Apollo, Artemis (?)	Short	1	skyphos	BG		-280	300-200 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 13
48	ΑΠ	Apollo	Short	2	skyphos	BG	-400	-300	400-300 BC	AVI	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 14
49	ΑΔ	Personal name and dedication to Apollo	Short	2	bowl	BG		-380	400-350 BC	AVI	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 15
50	ΑΠᚹ ΡΥᚹ	Personal name and dedication to Apollo	Short	6	stemless cup	BG	-420	-380	400-350 BC	n/a	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 17
51	ΑΞΙ	Personal name or dedication to Kabeiroi (Axiokersa)	Short	3	fish plate	BG	-400	-380	400-350 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 18
52	AT (exterior) K (base)	Personal name and dedication to Kabeiroi	Short	3	kantharos	BG	-400	-350	400-350 BC	3265/1120	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 19
53	AT or AYT and ΑΠ or ΠΑ	Personal name and dedication to Apollo	Short	4	bolsal / cup skyphos	BG	-330	-300	350-300 BC	3265/1120	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 20
54	Δ	n/a	Short	1	bowl / one-handler	BG	-400	-300	400-300 BC	A7	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 21
55	EY	Personal name or dedication	Short	2	mug	BG	-310	-300	350-300 BC	3600/1140	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 25
56	Iᚹ (E?)	n/a	Short	2	kantharos	BG	-400	-350	400-350 BC	B17	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 27
57	I (Z′) and I	n/a	Short	2	bowl	BG	-400	-380	400-350 BC	B22	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 28
58	H	Personal name or dedication to Hera / Herakles	Short	1	cup kantharos / calyx cup	BG	-325	-300	350-300 BC	B13	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 29
59	ΗΣΤ and Π(?)	Personal name	Short	4	salt-cellar	BG	-400	-380	400-350 BC	AVI	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 30
60	HP	Dedication to Hera / Herakles	Short	2	skyphos	BG	-330	-300	350-300 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 31
61	HP and TE	Personal name and dedication to Hera / Herakles	Short	4	salt-cellar	BG				A8	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 32
62	ΙΠΓ	n/a	Short	3	mug	BG				AVI	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 34
63	ΙΛΙ or IVI	Dedication to a deity	Short	3	calyx cup	BG	-350	-325	350-300 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 35
64	ΙΙΛ or ΙΙΓ	n/a	Short	3	bowl	BG	-350	-325	350-300 BC	3270/1170	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 36
65	K	Dedication to a deity	Short	1	cup kantharos	BG	-400	-300	400-300 BC	B'7	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 37
66	KA	n/a	Short	2	mug / cup kantharos	BG	-500	-300		B'2	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 38
67	κβ	n/a	Short	2	kantharos	BG	-350	-300	350-300 BC	B22	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 39
68	KN	Personal name?	Short	2	cup skyphos / cup kantharos	BG	-375	-300	400-300 BC	B8	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 40

N	Inscription	Published interpretation	Type (re-classified)	Length	Object	Ware	Date from	Date to	Date Group	Trench	Reference	
69	Λ	n/a	Short	1	bowl	BG				AVI	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 43
70	M or Σ	Personal name?	Short	1	fish plate	BG		-350	350-300 BC	A13	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 44
71	ME	Personal name	Short	2	bowl	NGW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	B1	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 46
72	ME	n/a	Short	2	salt-cellar	BG	-350	-350	400-350 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 47
73	MHT	Personal name or dedication to Magna mater deorum	Short	3	kantharos	BG	-330	-300	350-300 BC	n/a	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 49
74	MO	Personal name?	Short	2	fish plate	BG	-325	-300	350-300 BC	AVI	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 50
75	N	n/a	Short	1	bowl	NGW	-280	-200	300-200 BC	B'7	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 51
76	N and II	Personal name and dedication to a deity?	Short	3	bowl	BG	-410	-380	400-350 BC	B'7	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 52
77	NΠK	n/a	Short	3	bowl	BG				B1	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 53
78	ΣA	Dedication to a deity	Short	1	n/a dish	BG	-400	-300	400-300 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 57
79	C	n/a	Short	1	bowl	NGW	-280	-200	300-200 BC	A13	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 58
80	X	n/a	Short	1	skyphos	BG				D7	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 59
81	X	n/a	Short	1	stemless cup with inset lip	BG	-525	-350	400-350 BC	AVI	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 62
82	Π	n/a	Short	1	lamp	BG	-350	-300	350-300 BC	3256/1120	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 63
83	KΣ or KOΣ and Y	n/a	Short	3	bolsal	BG	-400	-300	400-300 BC	D19	Domaradzka 2007b	No. 04
84	MH	Personal name	Short	2	oinochoe	BG	-410	-380	400-350 BC	A19	Domaradzka 2007b	No. 05
85	ΠA	Personal name	Short	2	oinochoe	BG	-400	-380	400-350 BC	B21	Domaradzka 2007b	No. 06
86	A	n/a	Short	1	lid	OW				AVI	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 01
87	Δ	Personal name or dedication to a deity	Short	1	n/a small vessel	OW	-350	-300	350-300 BC	3265/1120	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 02
88	Δ	n/a	Short	1	n/a	OW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	B22	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 03
89	ΔI	Dedication to Zeus?	Short	2	oinochoe	OW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	B22	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 04
90	II	n/a	Short	2	n/a small vessel	OW	-330	-280		B21	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 06
91	KO	Personal name?	Short	2	n/a	OW	-350	-300	350-300 BC	B'7	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 08
92	K T	Personal name and dedication?	Short	2	n/a	OW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	AVI	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 09
93	M or Σ	n/a (incised before firing)	Short	1	n/a thick walled	OW	-280	-200		B12	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 10
94	MΦ	n/a	Short	2	n/a "kitchenware"	OW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	A14	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 11
95	OY	n/a	Short	2	n/a	OW			400-300 BC	B'7	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 13
96	ΠΔE or ΠAE	n/a	Short	3	fish plate	OW	-350	-300	350-300 BC	A13	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 14

N	Inscription	Published interpretation	Type (re-classified)	Length	Object	Ware	Date from	Date to	Date Group	Trench	Reference	
97	A	Dedication to Apollo or Artemis	Short	1	mug	GW	-350	-300	350-300 BC	3265/1120	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 18
98	AA	n/a	Short	2	n/a	GW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	A9	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 19
99	AΔ TH	"Ostracon (?)"	Short	4	n/a	GW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	A5/E25	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 20
100	Γ Δ	n/a	Short	2	n/a bowl?	GW	-350	-300	350-300 BC	AVI	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 22
101	Δ	Personal name or numeral	Short	1	n/a	GW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	A14	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 23
102	E	n/a	Short	1	n/a bowl?	GW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	A13	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 24
103	HP and MA	n/a	Short	2	jug	GW	-400	-350	400-350 BC	B22	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 29
104	N and HP	Personal name and dedication to Hera / Herakles?	Short	2	n/a cup?	GW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	D19	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 30
105	IΔ	n/a Dedication to Zeus?	Short	2	n/a	GW			400-300 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 31
106	KA	n/a	Short	2	n/a	GW	-450	-380	500-400 BC	B'7	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 32
107	KK	Personal name?	Short	2	bowl	GW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	A9	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 33
108	Λ or Δ	n/a	Short	1	bowl	GW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	B'7	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 34
109	ΛI	n/a	Short	2	lid	GW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	A18/23	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 35
110	M or Σ	n/a	Short	1	bowl	GW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	A9	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 36
111	M or MY	n/a	Short	2	n/a	GW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	B22	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 37
112	MA	Personal name	Short	2	jug	GW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	B'7	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 38
113	Π	n/a	Short	1	n/a	GW	-400	-350	400-350 BC	A13	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 39
114	M or Σ	Personal name?	Short	1	n/a bowl?	GW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 40
115	ΣA	n/a	Short	2	n/a bowl?	GW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	B'7	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 41
116	ΣK	n/a	Short	2	bowl	GW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	B21	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 42
117	TAP and ΣE	Personal name	Short	3	bowl	GW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	A9	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 44
118	Y	n/a	Short	1	n/a	GW				AVI	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 45
119	X	n/a	Short	1	n/a	GW	-350	-300	350-300 BC	3265/1120	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 46
120	AB and A	n/a	Short	3	stone weight				n/a	B21	Domaradzka 2013b	No. 05
121	ZH, E	Personal name and dedication to Hermes (?)	Short	3	skyphos	RF	-425	-400		A8	Domaradzka 2013a	No. 01
122	A	Dedication to Apollo or Artemis ?	Short	1	cup	BG	-425	-475	400-350 BC	Zh5	Domaradzka 2013a	No. 03
123	Γ and Ω	n/a	Short	2	bolsal	BG			400-350 BC	A13	Domaradzka 2013a	No. 04
124	Δ or A	n/a	Short	1	cup	BG			400-300 BC	A8	Domaradzka 2013a	No. 05
125	K	n/a	Short	1	skyphos/ kantharos	BG			400-300 BC	B23	Domaradzka 2013a	No. 06
126	ΣK	Personals name - Σκακασ	Short	2	bowl	GW			400-200 BC	B21	Domaradzka 2013a	No. 08

N	Inscription	Published interpretation	Type (re-classified)	Length	Object	Ware	Date from	Date to	Date Group	Trench	Reference	
127	ΝΙΠΑΚΕ	n/a	Unclear	6	bowl	BG				B17	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 54
128	ΠΥΓΗ	n/a	Unclear	4	lamp	NGW	-350	-275	300-200 BC	A8	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 64
129	ΕΕΔ ΔΔ	n/a	Unclear	3	n/a	OW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	A10	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 05
130	AM (on handle) -EIK- (neck)	n/a	Unclear	3+	jug	GW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	B21	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 21
131	ΗΗ / ΣΙΣΤΡΑ	n/a	Unclear	6	n/a	GW	-400	-300	400-300 BC	A6	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 26
132	ΠΙΣΤ ΚΗ II I II	Magical inscription?	Unclear	11	n/a	BG				E19	Domaradzka 2002a	No. 61
133	labrys	Image	Image		jug	GW	-280		300-200 BC	B'2	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 47
134	scratched lines	Image	Image		bowl	GW				B'2	Domaradzka 2007a	No. 48

Table 22. *Graffiti* length and distribution over time

Period	Length 1	2	3	4	5-10	11-15	20+	Image n/a	**Total**
500-400 BC		1		1		1	1		4
400-300 BC	12	16	5	5	4	1	1		44
400-350 BC	4	9	7	3	3		1		27
350-300 BC	6	7	7	3	7	1			31
300-200 BC	4			1				1	6
n/a	6	4	4	3	3	1		1	22
Total	32 24%	37 28%	23 17%	16 12%	17 13%	4 3%	3 2%	2 1%	134

Table 23. *Graffiti* content

Period	Abece-dary	Dedica-tion	Image	Name	Numeral	Phrase	Short/unclear		**Total**
500-400 BC				1		2	1		4
400-300 BC	1	1		7		1	34		44
400-350 BC		2		1	3	1	20		27
350-300 BC		1		6	5	1	18		31
300-200 BC			1				5		6
n/a		1	1	1			19		22
Total	1 1%	5 4%	2 1%	16 12%	8 6%	5 4%	97 72%		134

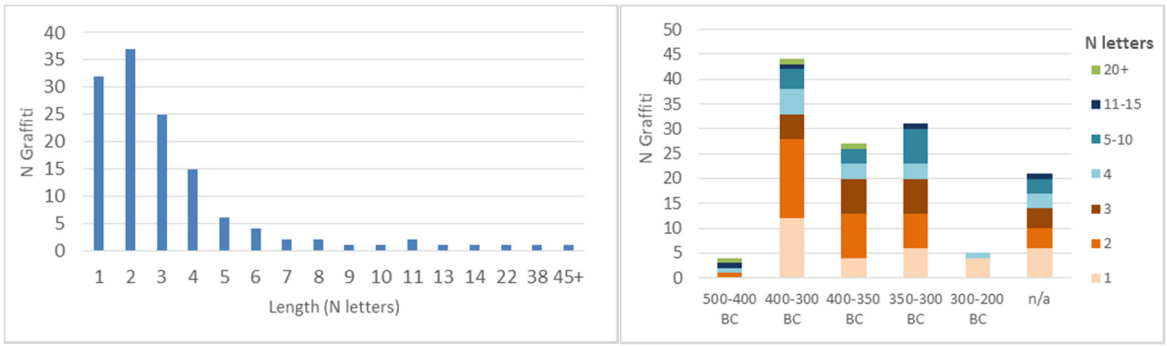

Figure A.10. *Graffiti* length distribution (frequency) and length per period

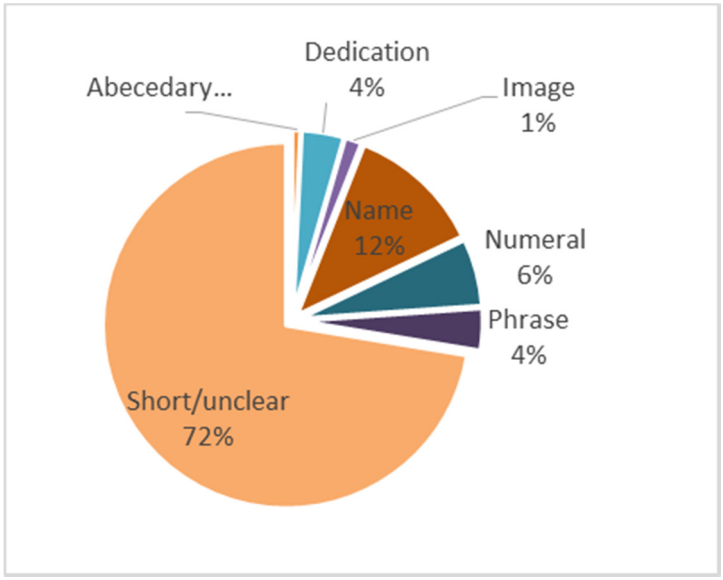

Figure A.11. *Graffiti* content

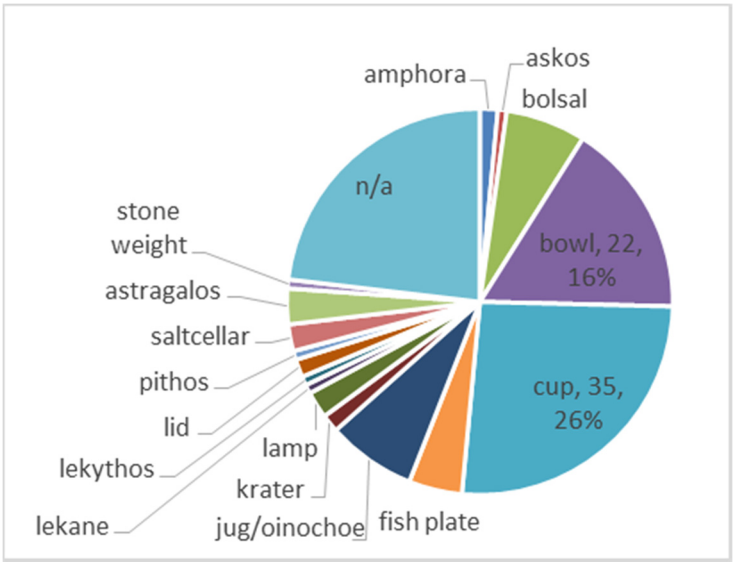

Figure A.12. Types of inscribed objects at Vetren

APPENDIX 7. TEXTILE TOOLS FROM VETREN – COMPARATIVE DATA

Table 24. Assemblage statistics for textile tools from Iron Age sites in the Balkans

Site	Loom-weights		Weight (g)				Whorls	Weight (g)				Date
	Total (weighed)	Types	Min	Max	Mean avg	Median	Total (weighed)	Min	Max	Mean avg	Median	
Kastanas	239	AF Other			most 1000-1200		423 (423)	5	104	most 16-50		MBA-EIA
Koprivlen	115 (109)	ABCEF Other	26	542	135	104	? (15)	15	61	30	26	Archaic/ Classical
Vetren	>859 (232)	ABCD EF	31*	420	130	103	61 (32)	5	90	29	25	Classical/ Hellenistic
Olynthos	793	ACEFS Other	21	425	most 106-177							Classical
Krševica	895 (895)	ABCDF S	40	~900	most <160		22					Classical/ Hellenistic
Seuthopolis	>300 (161)	ABCE Other	40	894	238	222	19 (19)	4	47	19	16	Hellenistic

*Excluding one miniature 8 g weight (Septemvri Museum No. 1.209)

Figure A.13. Main sites with comparative textile tool data, or textile finds (in Table 24 and Table 26)

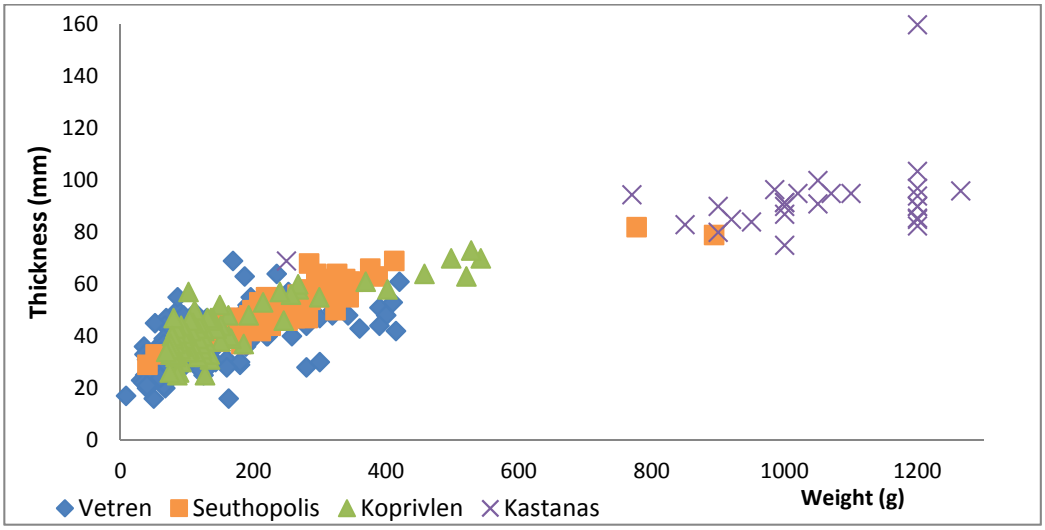

Figure A.14. Loom-weights from Vetren compared to other sites, grouped by weight and thickness

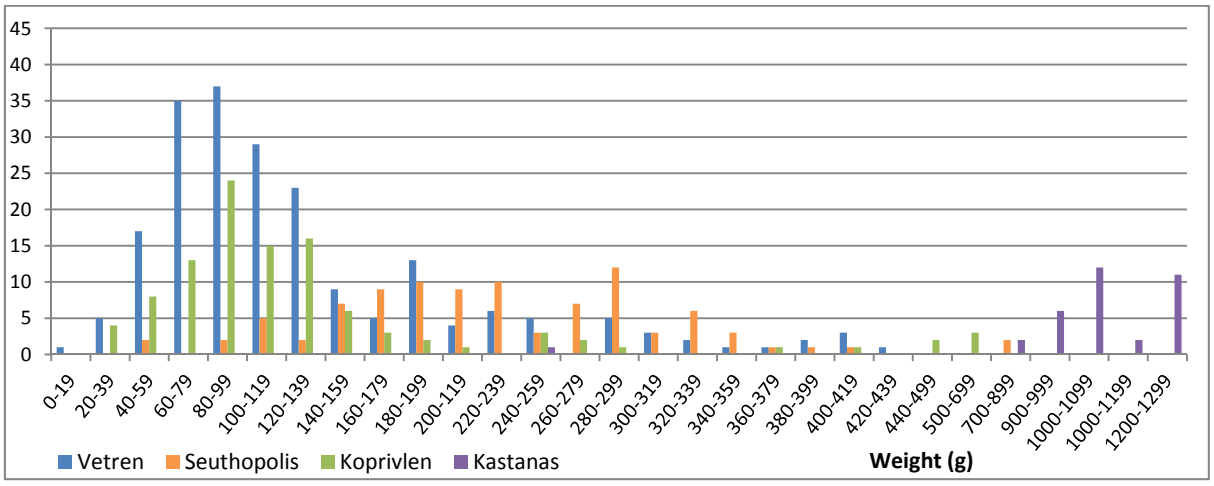

Figure A.15. Loom-weights from Vetren compared to other sites, grouped by weight

Table 25. Estimating thread tension range for a single loom-weight*

Thread tension (g)	Loom-weight (g)																								
	30	40	60	80	100	120	140	160	180	200	240	280	300	320	340	360	380	400	440	500	700	800	900		
5	6	8	12	16	20	24	28	32	36	40	48	56	60	64	68	72	76	80	88	100	140	160	180	N of threads per loom-weight	
10	3	4	6	8	10	12	14	16	18	20	24	28	30	32	34	36	38	40	44	50	70	80	90		
20	2	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	12	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	22	25	35	40	45		
30	1	1	2	3	3	4	5	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	11	12	13	13	15	17	23	27	30		
40	1	1	2	2	3	3	4	4	5	5	6	7	8	8	9	9	10	10	11	13	18	20	23		
50	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	4	4	5	6	6	6	7	7	8	8	9	10	14	16	18		
60	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	3	4	5	5	5	6	6	6	7	7	8	12	13	15		
70	0	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	3	4	4	5	5	5	5	6	6	7	10	11	13		
100	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	5	7	8	9		

* Shaded area indicates the optimal range of thread number, 5-30 threads per loom-weight, calculated by dividing weight (g) by thread tension (g).

Table 26. Typological variability of loom-weights at first millennium BC sites in Thrace, the Aegean, and the west Balkans

Site	Total Count	A: Pyramid	B: Pear-shaped	C: Disk	D:semi-circular	E: Trapeze	F: Cone	Spool	Other shapes	References
Ainos		?	?							Bouzek, 1996: 118 obs. in Edirne Museum
Delos		yes	>7	yes	yes		yes			Deonna 1938, 162–4
Gevgelija (Vardarski Rid)		yes	yes	1			1	yes		Karpuzova 2005, 189–90 fig. 28; Mitrevski 2005, 58–62, 199 fig. 55; Соколовска 1986 Sl. 21. 12–22
Golem Grad–Prespa			yes?							Битракова-Гроздановa 1986, 118 Sl. 28-36
Gradishte–Nerezi		yes						yes		Соколовска 1986, 35–40 Sl. 5.8-9
Isar–Marvinci	>150	yes	yes				yes			Соколовска, 1986: 88 Table 36; 76; Шурбаноски, 1987
Isar–Studenichani		yes	yes							Соколовска 1986 Sl. 9.15–17
Kacipup		yes						"a few"		Popović & Vukmanoić 1982, 201 T.V. 3-6; Крстић 1996
Karnobat								yes		Божинова & Михайлов 2009, 105 fig. 30.1-2
Kastanas	231	39					139		53	Mauel 2009, 136 Abb. 51
Koprivlen	>115	40	56	1		10	1		1	Dimitrova 2002; author's observations, Gotse Delchev Museum
Krastevich (Pamuk Tepe)							yes			Madzharov AOR conference 2007
Krševica	895	311	432	149	yes		3	118		Popović & Vranić 2008
Makri		yes	yes		yes		yes			Ευστρατίου & Καλλιντζή 1997, 902, 915 fig. 24
Muletarovo			yes							Домарадски *et al.* 1999, 31
Oisyme	"many"	yes	yes	yes						Γιώρη & Κουκούλη 1987, 386 fig. 32
Olynthos	793	yes		yes		yes	majority	yes	yes	Wilson 1930; Robinson 1941
Pernik		yes	majority							Чангова 1981, 99 Обр. 99.5-9
Pnyx (Athens)		yes		yes			yes			Davidson & Thompson 1948
Seuthopolis	>300	146	7	2		5			1	Own observations, Kazanlak Museum
Thasos		yes	yes	yes					yes	Grandjean 1988, 32 Pl. 12; own obs. Thasos Museum
Vetren	>859	103	103	43	6	1	1		yes	Archibald 2009; Bouzek 1996b; Matys 2013

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